THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

SINCE OPA WAS CLEARLY DYING FROM THE multiple wounds inflicted on it in the past four months, the President was well advised to put it out of its agony. Once controls had been abandoned over a wide area of the economy, it was not possible to maintain them in other sections. That could only lead to the diversion of materials and labor from the production of articles subject to ceilings to those enjoying a free market. Moreover, once it was certain that controls were on the way out, it was natural for producers still under ceilings to hold goods off the market until they would be free to charge higher prices. With both production and inventories at new post-war peaks, the effects of the President's move on the general price level may be less serious than many people fear. In some lines, where shortages remain serious, prices will rise sharply, but since it is probable that over-all production pretty nearly balances total available purchasing power, such increases will reduce the capacity of consumers to absorb other goods. Hence, prices of articles which are relatively plentiful, or the consumption of which is postponable, may tend to decline: that is to say, there is reason to expect a period of sharp price fluctuations in both directions rather than a sharp jump in the cost of living.

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THE GRAVEST DANGER ARISING FROM THE abandonment of controls is its probable effect on the housing situation. Although rent ceilings are to remain, Mr. Truman indicated that they would probably have to be raised, and the real-estate interests will certainly now redouble their efforts to boost revenues. Yet a rise in rents would give a justified impetus to demands for higher wages and prove the surest way of setting off an inflationary explosion. OPA investigations have shown that, thanks to 100 per cent occupancy rates and to reductions in service, most landlords are in a better position than before the war. Only if and when prices as a whole move to a substantially higher level, should they be permitted to raise rents. Meanwhile, it is all too probable that veterans will be forced to pay more for new houses, even though the $10,000 ceiling is to be maintained for the present, together with the system of priorities and allocations designed to channel building materials into low-cost housing. Thanks partly to measures taken in the past year by Housing Expediter Wilson W. Wyatt, production of some building materials has been greatly expanded. But adequate supplies of many essentials are still lacking, and a free market may well increase the difficulty of their procurement. For instance, although the steel industry is operating practically at capacity, demand is far from satisfied. Manufacturers of the many building components made of steel may therefore be forced to pay more for it in order to outbid the hundred and one other steel-using industries. That kind of thing is going to add to housing costs and so is the shortage of skilled workmen, to secure whom many contractors have been paying illegal premiums above union scales. In these circumstances, it is going to be hard to avoid an increase in maximum prices for houses; it will be impossible unless restrictions on non-essential building are rigidly maintained.

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THE REPUBLICAN VICTORY HAS LED TO A good deal of despondency and alarm in Europe. Of course, it is understood that foreign policy in many important aspects has bi-partisan support in this country and was not an issue in the election. However, as James Reston has pointed out in the New York *Times,* the Republicans have underwritten the political phases of the Administration's international program but are not committed to its economic phases. The British loan, for instance, was opposed by a majority of Republicans in both houses, and there is no reason to suppose that the G. O. P. has lost its faith in high tariffs. It is extremely doubtful whether the new Congress would be willing to ratify an International Trade Organization charter framed in accordance with the State Department's draft now under discussion in London. Of course, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, against which a majority of Republicans voted, remains in effect until 1948 unless repealed—an unlikely contingency since not enough votes could be mustered to overcome a Presidential veto. But knowledge that there is no guaranty of permanence in the lower-tariff trend which began in 1933, may make

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the eighteen foreign countries with which multiple negotiations are to begin next April chary of granting concessions. Moreover, a Republican Congress is going to hamper American economic foreign policy in another way. In Britain, the Dominions, and many European countries it is a firmly held conviction that the greatest obstacle to economic cooperation with the United States is not the tariff but the fundamental instability of America's economy. The rush to abandon controls which we may now expect and the hostility of the Republicans to economic planning are likely to induce efforts by foreign countries to insulate themselves from the next American depression. Nothing could be less reassuring to the world at large than Mr. Hoover's pronouncement that America is "again moving to the goal of free men" in which he so successfully imprisoned us during his Presidency.

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THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, WHERE ONLY white men enjoy the rights of citizenship, wishes to annex the territory of Southwest Africa (which it has held under a League of Nations mandate since the last war) and so obtain a new supply of native helots to work in its fields and mines. Supporting this proposal in a committee of the U. N. Assembly, Marshal Smuts, South African Premier, declared that the native population of the territory had been consulted by special commissioners and that a large majority had indicated approval. What he did not explain was that only tribal chiefs and headmen, who are subject to removal by government officials, were consulted, which gave the proceedings about the same value as a Hitlerian plebiscite. Marshal Smuts sought to bolster his case by favorably comparing his country's procedure with that of Russia when it annexed the Baltic states without consulting "the comity of nations." While two wrongs do not make a right, it is worth noting that the inhabitants of the Baltic states enjoy full Russian citizenship. But with what rights and privileges will the 300,000 natives of Southwest Africa be endowed after annexation? E. S. Sachs, prominent South African labor leader, answers that question on page 554. They will enjoy the right to be indentured for work in the mines at a cash wage of 35 to 45 cents a day, the right to live in segregated areas, the right to go to church provided employers consent to sign a pass, the right to be represented in Parliament by a white man. How Marshal Smuts, a godly man, reconciles racial dictatorship in South Africa with the U. N. Charter is a secret known only to him and his maker. But whatever arguments he may offer in defense of his proposals, the U. N. should flatly refuse to extend South African rule until present conditions of discrimination are ended. The United States ought to be leading this fight: unfortunately it has forfeited the opportunity by its own cynical proposals for the Pacific mandates.

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WITH WORLD FOOD OUTPUT UP SEVEN PER cent from 1945, most Americans apparently believe that the need for belt-tightening on our part has passed. But recent reports from the International Emergency Food Council and the Department of Agriculture indicate that a new crisis, nearly as severe as last year's, may be expected in the spring. The situation in Austria is particularly grim. Domestic supplies are far below the pre-war level and are sufficient to sustain a daily ration of only 800 calories. Even with UNRRA aid, half of the population has been getting no more than 1,200 calories of rationed food, and the announcement that the amount will be temporarily raised to 1,550, as in Germany, caused great public rejoicing. In the British zone of Germany, substantial imports from the United States have been necessary in order to bring the level of nutrition up to this minimum figure. Elsewhere in Europe, conditions are reported to have improved somewhat over last year, but there are forecasts of possible famine in Rumania because of drought and continued shortages in Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece. Famine reports have been received from three provinces in South and Central China. For the world as a whole, the current supply of food grains remains 12 to 14 per cent below demand. International shipments of fats and oils are only half of the world demand, and sugar production is still 15 per cent below the pre-war average. Plans to meet next year's crisis are even less adequate than last year's bungled efforts. UNRRA is scheduled to terminate its activities in Europe on December 31, and the proposals for continuing its functions under the U. N. have become hopelessly snarled in politics. If international action proves impossible, the United States, singularly blessed with bumper crops, must be prepared to finance substantial relief shipments for yet another year.

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ASPIRANTS TO WORLD CITIZENSHIP WILL find useful a newly issued, paper-bound, charted, indexed guide to the U. N. This is "The United Nations: A Handbook on the New World Organization," by Louis Dolivet, with a preface by Trygve Lie. The book is a complete yet concise description of the structure of the whole U. N. edifice and the nature of each part. It is published by Farrar, Strauss and Company, 580 Fifth Avenue, New York City, and sold for $1.75.

Coming in The Nation *for November: a fortnightly report from Russia by Alexander Werth, who interviewed Stalin; a look at the resurging Ku Klux Klan by Carey McWilliams; a biting portrait of the "complete AMG officer" by John Pauker, who served with the AMG in Germany.*

Picking Up the Pieces

IT WAS exceedingly shrewd of the Republicans to focus last week's election on the question "Had Enough?" The returns indicate beyond doubt that the voters *have* had enough—but because of the magnificently calculated vagueness of the question nobody can say just what it is that has sated them. Have they had enough jobs, enough protection against the ups and downs of the business cycle, enough security for their bank savings, enough cheap electric power and land reclamation, enough freedom to organize in labor unions, enough cooperation with other nations in the promotion of world peace? Or have they only had enough of weariness after a long and bitter war, of vexations that are an inevitable part of the transition to peace, of that sagging of the spirit in high places and in low that marks the end of a monumental national effort?

The Republicans are in power now and free to interpret the results as they choose. But in spite of the magnitude of their victory, they will be taking a long chance if they ignore the emotional reaction of a tired people in favor of a strictly political interpretation; if, in short, they flatly assume that they have a mandate to destroy the achievements of the Roosevelt era. They won control of Congress not because the country longed for Republicanism—whatever that might be— but because in almost every state in the country a vote for the G. O. P. was the only way in which a hazy discontent could be expressed. Where this was not the case, as in New York, the minority parties of the left ran up impressive totals. The American Labor Party had one of its best years, the Liberal Party won a place on the ballot with a substantial vote of 181,000, and even the Communists enjoyed a boost to almost twice their usual modest return. It is worth noting, too, that in a number of cases victorious Republicans had campaigned, some genuinely and some strategically, on more or less liberal platforms. Typical of this group are Senators-elect Thye of Minnesota, Ives of New York, and Flanders of Vermont; and Representatives-elect Bender of Ohio, Javits of New York, and Fulton of Pennsylvania.

Whatever the motivations of the voters, the returns are admittedly devastating in their effects on Congressional personnel. On the thin credit side of the ledger are the victories of McGrath, elected to the Senate from Rhode Island, and the return to that body, all by narrow margins, of Kilgore, O'Mahoney, and Chavez—the triumph of the Senator from New Mexico being welcome primarily because it spares us the spectacle of Pat Hurley in action on Capitol Hill. We are grateful, too, for the return of a quartet of California liberals—Havenner, Holifield, King, and Helen Gahagan Douglas —though such other good Californians as Tolan, Outland, Voorhis, Healy, Doyle, and Izak will be missed.

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Melvin Price (Ill.) and Mike Monroney (Okla.) narrowly escaped defeat, and Denver succeeded in bucking the tide by replacing a Republican with John Carroll, a progressive Democrat. So did Worcester, Massachusetts, which dropped a conservative isolationist in favor of H. D. Donahue, a Democrat indorsed by the P. A. C.

That about completes the good news of November 5. Connecticut's four liberal Democrats are out—a particularly sad loss in the cases of Herman Kopplemann and Mrs. Chase Woodhouse. Emily Taft Douglas, of Illinois, is to be replaced by William G. Stratton, an extremist of the McCormick school. And Martha Sharp in Massachusetts took a bad trimming at the hands of Joe Martin, who will now ascend to the Speaker's chair. Other important casualties in the House are Hook and Rabaut of Michigan, James Delaney of New York, Flood of Pennsylvania, Neely of West Virginia, Biemiller of Wisconsin, and Coffee and Savage of Washington.

In the Senate, such stalwarts as Tunnell, Murdock, Mitchell, and Guffey are gone, as well as such milder New Dealers as Huffman and Briggs. Potential Senate liberals like Rogers, Donart, Lehman, Erickson, McMurray, and Bunker were swamped in the Republican tide and will have to try again. Meanwhile, the Taft-Wherry-Butler nucleus of diehard Republicans in the Senate will expand to take in such luminaries of the right as Martin, Baldwin, and Lodge from the Atlantic states; Kem, Jenner, Bricker, and McCarthy from the Middle West; Ecton and Dworshak from the Mountain States; and Watkins and Cain from the Far West.

Without attempting to minimize the gravity of the shift in Congress, it is still possible to see in the Republican sweep a paradoxical ray of hope: the coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats which so bedeviled both Roosevelt and Truman is not likely to survive for long. The Southerners could indulge in this device as long as their own party was in power. With committee chairmanships and patronage safely at their disposal, they could afford to play fast and loose with party regularity. The picture is very different now. They have already lost their chairmanships, and if their party is defeated in 1948 they will lose much of their patronage, too. But that result is precisely the objective of the Republicans, who no longer need their Bourbon allies now that they have a working majority of their own. For a few months, the Coxes, Rankins, and Georges may be expected to help the Republicans frustrate the President. But as we move into the shadow of the 1948 election, they will once more see the advantages of party loyalty.

The point is important not because such solidarity has any ideological advantage for liberals—if anything, the contrary is the case—but because the development could greatly strengthen the hand of a hard-pressed President. The coalition was strong enough to override a veto; the Republican majority alone is not. In this *technical* fact may lie the salvation of Harry Truman. If he uses the veto, and the threat of the veto, with shrewdness and courage, he may get better results from an opposition Congress than from an undisciplined mob of legislators only theoretically controlled by his own party. He has the choice of taking a strong lead, with the hope of preserving the prestige of his office and his party, or of allowing the government to wallow for two years in uncertainty—with sure defeat at the end of the road and something like national paralysis en route.

Toward a New Beginning

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE election put a seal on what had happened long before. The era of Roosevelt had declined prior to his death; it had ended when he died. Last week the nation only summarized the accomplished fact, in totals of votes cast, in men elected and men defeated. The unreality of an interlude which deceived no one in spite of pious appeals to the Roosevelt name and tradition was exploded, and the particles came to earth in their natural political shape.

Now, looking back from the vantage point of defeat, we can scrutinize more sharply the era we have lost. We shall be able to see how much of the New Deal was solid gain and is fixed by law and custom beyond possibility of destruction by Roosevelt's successors, how much was vitiated from the start by the inner conflicts of what Henry Wallace still hopefully extolls as "democratic capitalism," and by the necessity of working through a machine so cynically concerned with power and perquisites as the Democratic Party. We can mark the disintegration of many of the Roosevelt reforms under the impact of war, an inevitable process, hastened by the need of appeasing the dominant business interests in the country and by the capture of the chief policy-making jobs in government agencies by Republicans and anti-New Deal industrialists. We can begin to calculate the effect of the immensely increased power over national policy of the military, a normal concomitant of war but no less a danger in any democracy. And, finally, we can trace as if on a military map the retreat of the machine Democrats from advance positions which had become politically exposed into comfortable rearguard posts, sheltered behind the euphemistic camouflage of "bi-partisanship." The Roosevelt era died bit by bit. Now that it has been officially interred, despite the nominal survival of Mr. Truman, progressives are free to abandon both pretense and illusions and get to work laying the foundation for a new beginning.

For they cannot go on living in the shadow of their

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great leader or try merely to resurrect and refurbish the New Deal. During the campaign, it was natural that they should have invoked the name, and even the voice, of Roosevelt. It was all they had left to cling to. For the future, it will not be enough. The progressive movement will never be rebuilt on the basis of a program improvised piecemeal to meet the successive crises of a worldwide economic breakdown. Today's problems are different. The New Deal is old and largely out of date. One doesn't prime a pump that is overflowing; one devises means of controlling the surplus—directing it into dry furrows or empty cisterns. One doesn't rest on a system of legislation to protect labor's right to organize and bargain collectively at a time when anti-labor feeling is riding high on a tidal wave of strikes. Instead, one takes a running start and tackles the whole system of wages, prices, and productivity in terms of labor's firmly established power and its right to a voice in the control of industrial production.

These are items. They only illustrate the inadequacy of the old New Deal to cope with the problems created by our incredible post-war productive capacity and our obsolete methods of distributing the things we produce —problems which will be multiplied to incalculable totals when atomic energy begins, sooner perhaps than we think, to be plugged in to the industrial machine. New thinking is needed, new planning for the organization of America's economic life and our relationship with a world in revolution. The Republicans, busy consolidating their new-won gains, busy reducing the few remaining New Deal strong-points, will offer little competition in constructive political ideas; nor will the old-line Democrats, struggling to hold on to a power already lost. The next two years are likely to be a period of futile truce or inter-party bargaining. Nothing better can be expected while, at worst, the country may be plunged into an interlude of reaction expressed in all the ugly forms that marked the years of Harding. Only the progressives, inside or outside the two old parties, will be free to face the necessities of the situation.

Let us not fool ourselves in this hour of appraisal. The routed progressive forces in America are not equipped with a program or even prepared to unite on any program. They have emerged from the election reduced in strength, splintered and dispersed. The old struggle with the Communists in the unions and in the political groups is gathering fresh impetus. Strong leaders are lacking. The most effective men on the liberal wing are themselves so much the children of the pre-war era that they may not be able to provide the ideas and dynamics for a new start. The groups that fought for the election of progressives in this last campaign—the two Political Action Committees, the Independent Citizens' Committee, the Liberals and the Labor Party in New York, various unions and independent voters' groups throughout the country—had only two things to hold them together: the heritage of the New Deal and their fear of Republican rule. No common program; no organizational unity; no effective leadership. Defeated, they must start from scratch, for the fight they have just lost was only the start of a much tougher one ahead.

In some ways it would be a comfort to believe the prediction of the omniscient Alsops, printed in the New York *Herald Tribune* two days after the election, that a left-wing third party was about to emerge from the débâcle. They even reported that the coming organization was already named—the "People's Party." If we could believe all this, at least the present political scene would have more coherence. But it is hard to credit. The only third-party proposal I have heard about is definitely anti-Communist, related to the Liberal Party in New York.

As for the progressive leaders who gathered in Washington last week under the chairmanship of Henry Morgenthau, their tentative proposals for broader coalition definitely excluded the possibility of a third party. A later meeting will be called to develop a plan of coordinated action, in and out of Congress. But nothing in the history of the groups involved, or in their leadership, suggests that any systematic social-political program, much less a new party, is in the making.

This was to be expected. Neither the reorientation of ideas demanded by the period we face nor the integration of forces on the left can be hastily improvised. Both will mean hard work by individuals and groups all over the country. In this effort, *The Nation* intends to take an active share. Even before the election, a conference of liberals on the West Coast called by the Nation Associates produced an immense amount of creative thinking on the issues that last week's vote crystallized in such concrete form. We hope to conduct similar discussions in other places. And in the pages of *The Nation* we shall analyze the practical as well as the theoretical problems that confront democratic Americans. Harold Laski's series, beginning in this number, will be a significant contribution to our analysis. Attached to no man or party, we can comment without constraint upon issues and leaders, programs, parties, and strategies. Out of such discussions, in which we warmly invite our readers to join, we shall formulate as the weeks pass *The Nation's* program for a new American progressive movement.

[*Can the progressives regain effective control of the Democratic Party or are they faced with the difficult alternative of attempting to organize a third party? What is the probable future role of Henry Wallace and Claude Pepper? Miss Kirchwey will discuss these questions in next week's issue.*]

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The Past Recaptured

BY TRIS COFFIN

Washington, November 9

FOR sixteen long and hungry years Republican national headquarters have looked out forlornly over a changing Washington. Housed in a prim, red-brick mansion wedged incongruously between a row of fashionable women's dress shops and a cafe, the Republicans have marked time in an atmosphere as decorous and nostalgic as an old lady's home. Tuesday night the famine was over. By nine o'clock sleek limousines were gliding down Connecticut Avenue and stopping before the mansion. Well-dressed elderly men and women stepped gaily into the hall, giggled at the sign, "Had Enough? Vote Republican," and hurried into the long room where the posted returns showed a clear sweep.

A special train was rushing through the Midwest on its way to Washington. President Truman and a few friends were listening to the returns. By ten o'clock they knew the worst. The President had lost both the House and Senate. The little world that Harry Truman had inherited on an April afternoon had fallen apart. But if the news undermined the President's stubborn good humor, he gave no hint of it the next morning and waved gaily to people in the Washington station. Since then he has clothed himself in a curious silence.

During the last few days his friends have been trying to draw a new picture of Harry Truman. They are picturing a ruggedly independent man with no strings attached to him, a man who will act clearly and boldly for the good of the nation, let the chips fall where they may. With or without a new Truman there will certainly be changes in downtown Washington. The exodus of men and women who worked under Roosevelt will be accelerated. None of them want to stay for the investigations by Republican-dominated Congressional committees and the lean budgets they must work with.

Only the desperate pleading of Mr. Truman will be able to keep Secretary of War Patterson, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, Secretary of Agriculture Anderson, or Postmaster General Hannegan in the Cabinet. Whether Byrnes remains depends upon Vandenberg, who may think it convenient to let Byrnes take the rap for any unpopular decision the Senator pushes on him. More than ever, the Secretary of State will be a creature of Vandenberg.

Patterson and Forrestal have no desire to preside over the inevitable reduction of the army and navy under the Republican budget-cutting program; currently, the top bet for running the War Department is another Missourian, Assistant Secretary for Air Symington. Mournful Lew Schwellenbach knows he would have an almost impossible task to get unions to cool down in the face of restrictive labor legislation. The Agriculture Department will be run by the House and Senate agriculture committees, and even Clinton Anderson, for all his good humor, does not look forward to that; Under Secretary Dodd is a possibility for his position. Bob Hannegan was tired of Washington long before the elections.

On the Hill Vandenberg will be the honorary G. O. P. leader as president pro tem of the Senate. He does not care for the more active and trying role of floor leader. A big scrap is already developing over this job, with the dyed-in-the-wool conservative Kenneth Wherry and the liberal Wayne Morse both out to chop down Bob Taft. Wherry has never forgiven Taft for approving the compromise OPA bill after getting his formula for manufacturers included, while farm products were left to the discretion of a decontrol board. Morse considers Taft an old-line reactionary. Actually, Taft will be something of a divided personality in the Eightieth Congress. Conservative as he is, he has a coldly logical mind to which liberals can appeal. And he is a candidate for President. The great test of whether the Republican Party can enfold liberals will come with the selection of the chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. The ranking man, Arthur Capper, is too old—he will soon be eighty-one. The next in line is George Aiken of Vermont, who has never sought to hide his admiration for many New Deal programs and personalities.

In the House it is a cinch that Joe Martin, loyal member of the Old Guard, will be Speaker, but the real power will be down on the floor in the majority leader. Two men are after the job—the big and noisy Clarence Brown of Ohio and Charles Halleck of Indiana, a keen strategist. Brown is the more popular of the two, but it is generally acknowledged that Halleck is the smartest G. O. P. back-room operator in Washington. John Taber, who hates to see a Democrat spend a dollar of public money, will be chairman of the Appropriations Committee. This means that every bureau downtown will have to kneel and grovel for funds. Jesse Wolcott who directed the attack on the OPA, will run the Banking and Currency Committee. If there are any controls left by January, Wolcott will get rid of them in short order Charles Eaton, the white-haired and gentlemanly doctor, will head the Foreign Affairs Committee and will follow the line laid down by Senator Vandenberg. J. Parnell Thomas, red-faced friend of John Rankin, will be in a seventh heaven all his own, running the Un-American Activities Committee. Harold Knutson, the grumpy conservative and isolationist from Minnesota, will sit on the

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tax policy. There will be one good effect of the elections. Edith Nourse Rogers, a great champion of the disabled veteran, will head the Veterans' Committee.

The Republican program is no mystery. Taxes will be cut, perhaps 20 per cent. The federal budget will be cut as much, if not more, with particular emphasis on army, navy, and occupation costs. Whether the United States will be able to have any occupation program in Germany or Japan is doubtful. The Republicans are already working on restrictive labor legislation. Senator Joe Ball has a handful of bills which would outlaw the closed shop and emasculate the Wagner act.

The only positive suggestion for a way out of the dilemma of the next two years has been advanced by Senator Fulbright of Arkansas. He wants Mr. Truman to appoint a Republican Secretary of State and then resign. He believes the G. O. P. should have full responsibility for government. Otherwise, said Fulbright, "each party will try to blacken the other. . . . The long-term effect will be to create the impression that democratic processes are bad and all its officials are blackguards. This will not do the democratic system any good."

Both the White House and the Republicans are wildly unenthusiastic about the Fulbright proposal. The President's friends think it is insulting to him, and the Republicans say Fulbright is trying to put them on the spot.

This morning one of the reporters gathered in the White House lobby waiting for the Cabinet meeting to break up gave a good description of the atmosphere since Tuesday. He called it, "an air of desperate futility."

Nations at Work

BY VERA MICHELES DEAN

Trusteeship: Military Model

Lake Success, November 9

THE draft trusteeship and agreement for the Japanese-mandated islands in the Pacific which the United States government transmitted on November 6 for the information of the ten other members of the Security Council, as well as of New Zealand and the Philippines, is hardly the *beau geste* which friends of both this country and the U. N. had been hoping for. Under the draft agreement the United States would become sole trustee for the three groups of islands—Marshalls, Carolinas, and Marianas—and would have administrative, legislative, and jurisdictional authority over the territory "as an integral part of the United States."

The mandated islands, however, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, would be designated a strategic area, which means that the area would be subject to the supervision of the Security Council, except for political, social, and educational matters, with respect to which the Security Council shall "avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council."

The U. N. Charter (Article 82) provides that "there may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies." The United States was thus acting within the terms of the Charter in requesting designation of the Japanese-mandated islands, which played an important part in the strategy of the Pacific war, as a strategic area. The phrase in Article 3 of the draft agreement about administration of the islands as "an integral part of the United States," however, opens the way for the charge by other nations that this constitutes a disguised form of annexation. Also open to criticism is Article 13 of the draft trusteeship agreement, which states that the islands can "from time to time" be specified by the administering authority "as closed for security reasons." By Article 14, however, the United States undertakes to apply in the trust territory the provisions of appropriate international conventions. This can be interpreted to mean that if an agreement is reached by the Atomic Energy Commission for international inspection, such an agreement would be applicable to the islands.

The draft trusteeship agreement, with its emphasis on national security, obviously represents an attempt to effect a compromise between the views of the State Department, which favored trusteeship by the U. N., and those of the War and Navy departments, which demanded outright annexation. The State Department deserves credit for its unremitting efforts to have this country fulfil the spirit and not merely the letter of the Charter concerning trusteeship. Praise, too, should be given to John Foster Dulles, American spokesman on the Trusteeship Committee of the General Assembly, who pressed the Administration to break the silence it had maintained on the subject—a silence that made it highly embarrassing for Mr. Dulles to urge other nations holding mandated territories (Britain, France, Belgium, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa) to submit draft agreements concerning their territories, and thus clear the way for the creation of the Trusteeship Council. Addressing the Trusteeship Committee on November 7, however, Mr. Dulles made it clear that if the U. N. did not accept the draft agreement submitted by the United States, this country would continue de facto con-

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trol of the mandated islands. As the French say, *"C'est le ton qui fait la chanson."* The United States would in any case have retained control over the islands. But by making its claim in a different tone, it could have displayed the kind of moral leadership that is sorely lacking in the General Assembly.

Of far-reaching political significance was another statement made by Mr. Dulles in connection with trusteeship, when he defined a phrase in the Charter that has given headaches to international experts. This is the phrase in Article 79 which states that "the terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the *states directly concerned.*" Previous discussions had indicated that Russia considered itself in the category of "states directly concerned" and might invoke its veto power in the Security Council to prevent acceptance of draft agreements covering former League mandates or other non-self-governing territories that might be placed in trust with the U. N.

Mr. Dulles made it plain that this country, while regarding itself as "directly concerned" in the disposal of mandated territories, notably in the Near East and Africa, would waive the right to veto proposed agreements provided other states—and that meant Russia—did likewise. The American proposal as outlined by Mr. Dulles is that the Trusteeship Committee should establish a small subcommittee to hear the views of all interested countries on proposed trusteeship agreements, and that after asking the views of the mandatory power on proposed amendments it should report to the General Assembly on whether or not a given agreement ought to be accepted. This procedure would avoid the ticklish decisions as to what states are "directly concerned" but would permit all interested parties to be heard. Opposition to this proposal is expected not only from Russia, which would stand to lose another forum for the expression of its views on colonial questions, but also from the Arab nations, which consider themselves "directly concerned" in the British mandate over Palestine.

The American Political Scene

BY HAROLD J. LASKI

I. The Case of Harry Truman

London, October 30

TO THE foreign observer of the American scene, the outstanding characteristic of the landscape is the absence of effective leadership. There is nowhere any clear sense of direction. There is a confused babel of noises from which emerges no decisive note. The White House may have the best of intentions, but Americans watch it rather to see the mistakes it will make than to hope for the guidance it might offer. In any serious sense the Cabinet has ceased to exist. If it meets from time to time, there is no evidence to suggest either that it is asked for or that it attempts the formulation of coherent policy. The Congress may have taken the bit between its teeth, but no one can say where it is going except that it will not follow, if it can help it, any road down which the President is going. Little seems left of that deep national interest in the activities of Washington which, in the era of Franklin Roosevelt, made the White House the inescapable center round which the effort of the nation was built.

HAROLD J. LASKI is one of the leaders of the British Labor Party and the author of many books on government. This is the first of three articles in which he will present the conclusions he reached in the course of a recent visit to America.

It can never be repeated too often that without Presidential leadership the American political system intensifies every centrifugal possibility a society can seize. The separation of powers in the American Constitution has always offered the Congress an interest divided from, if not antagonistic to, that of the President. After twelve years in which the legislative has been very obviously subordinate to the executive power it is perhaps natural enough for Congress to seek some redress of the balance. But it is no serious part of the inherent genius of Congress to offer a coherent lead. It is too little a really unified body, too much a divided empire within which there are separate provinces almost incapable of systematic articulation, to work out a plan of action which seeks to cover the whole realm of policy. The Congress, to put it briefly, is hardly organized to be a body with one predominant mind. It knows how to be against something; even more, it knows how to be against someone. It has learned with considerable effectiveness how to be an organ of critical investigation. But the very fact that it is separated in a final way from the executive process is fatal to any effort on its part to formulate policy as a coherent whole.

It was not to be expected that President Truman would possess the authority of his predecessor. He lacked both his overwhelming prestige and his unique experience; even his years in the Senate had given him no intimate sense of the range of Presidential activity or of the

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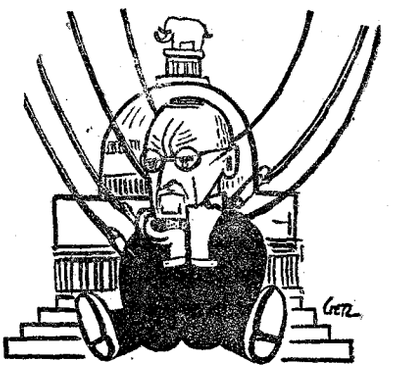
speed with which decisions are required. He inherited a body of massive problems, both international and domestic, with but few of which he had any serious acquaintance. His obvious good-will was no substitute for his equally obvious lack of experience. He showed fairly soon that he did not know how to build a team of advisers whose collective counsel would be an efficient substitute for his own inner uncertainties. He was too easily tempted to believe that the men whom he knew well would be able out of their friendship to compensate for inadequate knowledge of the complex issues he had to face. He had never been trained to lead. He had never been accustomed to mobilize public opinion against a Congress which had taken the bit between its teeth. He did not know how to continue the Roosevelt tradition of insisting that no vested interest could exert an independent authority against the determined will of a President who knew both what he wanted to do and how he wanted to do it. There were always uppermost in his mind, first, the knowledge that he was not the direct choice of the American people for the Presidency, and, second, the inner doubt whether he was fitted for a place he had never sought for himself. In the result, he has not been able to utilize the élan which is inherent in the office itself when, as Theodore Roosevelt showed, it falls unexpectedly to a man who is anxious for its responsibilities.

President Truman is a weak President because he has not the special kind of resolution which makes a strong President. He would like to be on good terms with everyone; he cannot make up his mind that a strong President must begin by realizing that much of his strength consists in his choice of enemies. This irresolution has been made evident most clearly and most painfully in two episodes. It has emerged in his handling of the problem of Palestine. Once he agreed to set up the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, he had obviously acquired a right to share in the decisions to be made about its recommendations. That was even more the case since he was aware that the British Foreign Secretary had given the members of the commission an undertaking to implement its recommendations. His right, moreover, was reinforced by a strong resolution of support for him from both houses of Congress and by the fact that British policy in Palestine was a grim and obvious failure. Yet he allowed himself to throw all his cards away by an irresolute unwillingness to step into the center of the picture and demand that attention for his proposals which would have been commensurate with the influence he might have exerted. He assumed the posture of a dissatisfied complainant when it was open to him to insist upon his right to share in the making of direct decisions. And the weakness of this attitude was the greater because it increased the victimization of the very people he was anxious to assist.

His irresolution over the episode of Mr. Wallace's resignation was even more striking. It is no doubt true that Mr. Wallace, through sheer bad strategy, made both the President's position and his own about as difficult as possible. It is not easy to defend a speech which flagrantly contradicted the policy pursued at Paris by Mr. Byrnes under the obvious authority of the President. It is still less easy to see why the speech was made many weeks after it was likely to alter a direction behind which, for good or ill, was not only the reputation of the Secretary of State but also the support of those Senatorial representatives upon whom President Truman would later have to rely for the approval of the Paris treaties by the Senate.



It ought to have been obvious to Mr. Wallace that his letter and speech alike were mistimed: their relevance was to a period before June 15, when Mr. Byrnes began his negotiations in Paris. But whatever the weakness of Mr. Wallace's timing, he was entitled to say that he delivered the speech only after he had obtained the permission of the President to do so. Neither the speech nor the letter which preceded it was in any sense an act of disloyalty to the Administration. Their implications were crystal clear. They meant a root-and-branch rejection of the major principles of Mr. Byrnes's foreign policy. But that foreign policy was not only that of the President himself; it was also, at least by inference, supported by Senators Connally and Vandenberg and thus the policy which later both parties in the Senate would ratify. It therefore followed that Mr. Wallace's speech not only revealed a deep rift within the Cabinet but also, in so far as it had Presidential approval, was a direct censure upon the official Administration policy in Paris.

President Truman could not have it both ways, though for a few days after Mr. Wallace's speech it seemed as if he was very anxious to have it both ways. To the outsider he appeared to want to retain Mr. Wallace, in part as the main remaining symbol of the Roosevelt tradition and in part as his chief link with the labor support so vital to the strength of his Administration. But that would have had three important consequences. It would have cast doubt upon the authority of Mr. Byrnes as the chief American negotiator at Paris; it would have been tantamount to a Presidential repudiation, especially after their protest, of Senators Connally and Vandenberg; and it would have left the world in grave doubt about the substance of American foreign policy. If, in short, there

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are two announced and conflicting tendencies in the President's Cabinet, where decisions have to be taken, he must choose between them. President Truman did not need to ask for Mr. Wallace's resignation, but his only practical alternative was to invite the resignation of Mr. Byrnes, with the high probability that this would be followed at least by that of Senator Vandenberg.

No one can have watched the curious maneuvers of the few days between Mr. Wallace's speech and the President's request for his resignation without seeing that Mr. Truman was striving hard to avoid the choice to which he was driven. But no one can fail, either, to see that the President himself, by permitting Mr. Wallace to make the speech, had created the position in which the choice was inescapable. And the observer was left in the difficulty of not knowing whether the President's choice was made because he approved of Mr. Byrnes's policy or because he thought its rejection would lead later to difficulties—with a Senate of unknown composition—which he might not be able to overcome. The unmistakable outcome of this curious episode was to create doubt as to whether the President had any clear mind of his own in the vital realm of international affairs.

He followed events; he did not lead them. That was shown in dramatic fashion in matters of major domestic importance. His handling of the threatened railroad strike showed that he had no clear sense of direction in the field of labor; he trusted to the chance that some improvised compromise would emerge. His handling of the maritime strike was lamentable since it jeopardized, through the hold-up of supplies, the whole process of world economic recovery and the safety of those stricken countries which are dependent upon UNRRA for maintaining something like a decent standard of living. His abject surrender of price control over the issue of the meat shortage carried with it the clear implication that the forces of big business had now been given their head. His plaintive denunciation of their selfish neglect of the common well-being did nothing to remedy the fact that he did not know how to control a situation in which prices would obviously rise and the workers fight desperately for increased wages to keep as close as might be to rising prices. The President did not seem to know, as his predecessor had known, how to organize the support he could have obtained for the continuance of price control if only he had offered evidence that he proposed to fight. The truth literally was that he did not enter the battle until he had already lost it. What was worse, he did not even lose it in such a way that the responsibility for the results of his defeat would be placed where it belonged. The main public emotion which followed the abrogation of the controls was not the sense that he had been fighting men who were plainly in the wrong but that he had never really entered the battle with a serious will to victory.

If the President of the United States is unwilling to lead, there is no one who can take his place as leader: that is a clear corollary of the American system of government. The Cabinet cannot lead because it has no coherent existence unless it serves a President who makes his purposes plain. The Congress cannot lead because both its constitutional position and its traditional habits make it essentially an instrument of negative control rather than of positive direction. The political parties cannot lead, partly because they are incomplete alliances of divergent interests, and partly because the enforced unity of a Presidential campaign is required to make their direction clear to the electorate. Nor is there any power in any private citizen or organization, however important, to do more than compete for a public attention the interest of which is centered, not upon those who seek for influence, but upon those who have the power to decide. If the President does not know what to do, the American system leaves a vacuum which his hesitation allows to be filled by pressure groups lacking, perhaps, any regard for the public need; and these groups may seek to prevent his later recovery of the initiative, of which he should never lose hold.

We are only now beginning to see the price that not merely the United States but the whole world has to pay for Mr. Roosevelt's death. In a period of continuing crisis no voice speaks for the American people with unchallengeable authority. It may be true that President Truman is anxious to preserve the heritage of his predecessor and to carry on his policies; no one need doubt the benevolence of his purposes or his appreciation that the times are serious. What is lacking is the sense that the President has, in any realm of policy, clear objectives he is seeking to reach. In the absence of such defined objectives the political scene has become a bewildering chaos of competing voices which prevents the United States from acting with a directness and intelligibility proportionate to its strength. Where, under Mr. Roosevelt, the ship of state was bound for a recognizable destination, under Mr. Truman no one quite knows whose hands have grasped the helm or for what port they propose to steer. Everyone waits for signals which do not come.

It is not clear what America proposes to do in Germany or the Far East; it is not clear how far its responsibilities will be engaged in the Middle East and Southeastern Europe; it is not even clear how genuinely it is seeking for a *modus vivendi* with Russia. If America's proposals for the control of atomic energy are reasonably plain and, at least in essence, an admirable basis for discussion, the meaning of its demand for bases, its experiments at Bikini, and the use of its navy and its air force raise complicated questions. So, too, do its decision to withhold help not merely from states like Poland, where it doubts the validity of proposals for free elections, but

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from Czechoslovakia, whose friendliness to Russia has in no wise impaired the reality of its democratic institutions. On the international plane at least it is difficult to argue that there is any single principle of action round which American policy is built. Rather does that policy emerge as a patchwork quilt the bits and pieces of which are put together without any attempt at a uniform pattern. Yet it is a uniform pattern in American policy that the world most needs if it is to settle down with the speed that is urgent for recovery from the impact of war.

The absence of a single principle of action is not less noticeable in the American domestic scene than in the international. The President has lost the initiative in Congress and with it the moral ascendancy he requires over his own party. He compels the attention of public opinion, but he has lost the certainty that he can mobilize it. If he has not broken with labor, he has at least subjected their relations to an acute strain. When the Congressional elections are over, he will still have to make up his mind whether he will seek to be the Democratic candidate in 1948 and, if so, whether he will run on a platform which would entitle him to stand as Mr. Roosevelt's legitimate heir. If he decides not to run, he must at least seek a way through the present confusion which will enable his party to enter the campaign of 1948 with enough inner unity to have some prospect of success. At the moment, certainly, it looks as if his failure to give a lead had prepared that atmosphere of disillusion and inertia in which a fatigued electorate expresses its dissatisfaction in the choice of a wholly negative candidate like the late President Harding.

It would be a disastrous choice both for America and for the world. But it is pretty certainly an inevitable one unless Americans, in the next two years, are offered a recognizable choice between liberalism and reaction. For if there are to be two more years in which the direction is uncertain, the principles blurred, the leadership hesitating, the party machines will fall back on that vicious principle of "availability" which turns a Presidential election into a gamble with an unpredictable outcome. That would be a major misfortune, the consequences of which might well be disastrous.

The one thing the world now needs is that powerful states should adequately assess their responsibilities and take proportionate action about them. That requires the kind of leadership which is not afraid either of great purposes or of great experiments made in their name. It is the doubt whether President Truman has grasped this necessity that is giving the initiative in American politics to the very influences over whom Mr. Roosevelt was four times victorious. It is urgent for President Truman to realize that nothing less than this is at stake in the next two years. Somehow, that is the battle for which his forces must be prepared.

The Mufti's New Army

BY ANDREW ROTH

Jerusalem, October 25

A NEW factor is increasing the danger of explosion in Palestine's supercharged atmosphere. As you skirt the barbed wire and dodge the armored cars that fill the Holy City you see a profusion of uniforms—the olive drab of the famous Sixth Air-Borne, the kilts of a Highland outfit, the red shoulder patches of General Anders's Poles, and the tall, Turkish-style hats of the Palestine police. But the most menacing is the plain khaki of two newly organized Arab para-military bodies —the Nejada (Rescuers) and the Futuwa (Power). They pretend to be nothing more than older Boy Scouts, but obviously they hope to be the Arab answer to the Irgun and the Haganah.

ANDREW ROTH, author of "Dilemma in Japan," is on his way to the Far East and sending regular reports to The Nation *from his stops along the way. His last article was on Egypt. His next will be a study of Jewish and Arab leftist movements.*

The Futuwa and the Nejada together, with their fewer than 10,000 young men, are much smaller than the Jewish groups and are inferior in organization and training. Some persons therefore minimize their importance and the "anti-Zionist boycott" which they have been supporting. A favorite story in Palestine today is about three Arabs who entered a Jewish musical-instruments shop in Haifa. After the usual bargaining they bought a trumpet and then asked if they could leave by a rear door which opened on a little-used alley. The manager refused this request but made no objection when one man went around to the alley and received the trumpet from his friend through a back window. Some hours later an Arab parade passed by, complete with brass band. Among the leaders was our friend the trumpeter, marching under a banner which proclaimed, much to the amusement of the Jewish shopkeeper: "Boycott all Zionist goods!"

Any amusement over the Nejada and the Futuwa should have ceased at the end of September when it became known that the two groups were being fused and were holding secret meetings in a walled villa in Alex-

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andria under the tutelage of Haj Amin el Husseini, ex-Mufti of Jerusalem. In the hands of the Mufti, who is probably the most dangerous firebrand in the Arab world, even a few thousand men can be extremely powerful. He is reported to have had only 1,500 regulars at his disposal in the Arab rebellion of 1936-39.

Any activities directed by the Mufti are bound to arouse Palestine's Jewish population to a high pitch of fury. They know of his anti-Semitic utterances over the Axis radio during the war, including the 1944 broadcast in which he shrilled: "Arabs! Rise as one and fight for your sacred rights. Kill the Jews wherever you find them. This pleases God, history, and religion. This saves your honor. God is with you." The Hebrew press here has reported very extensively the discovery by the American army in Germany of conclusive documentary evidence that the Mufti constantly goaded the leading Nazis to speed up the extermination of Jews in gas-chambers in order to reduce the number who might want to emigrate to Palestine.

Jews and Arabs alike are more than suspicious about how the Nejada and Futuwa came into being. Neither body makes any secret of the fact that they have arms and are practicing their use. Members are given their uniforms free and wear them openly. This is strange, for according to the *Official Gazette* of November 15, 1945, it is a crime punishable by life inprisonment to wear "any article of clothing or other article likely to be mistaken for any [foreign] uniform," and the Nejada-Futuwa uniforms are American army surplus. Furthermore, in the *Official Gazette* of February 21, 1946, the High Commissioner published the decree that "no person shall, except under the authority of a written permit granted by the Inspector General of Police, wear in public any distinctive dress or article of clothing or emblem . . . which indicates or purports to indicate that the wearer thereof belongs to any social or political organization." These groups are definitely political organizations since they pledge allegiance to the Arab Higher Executive Committee.

At a recent press conference in Tel Aviv, Richard Stubbs, the British spokesman here, announced that the High Commissioner had decided not to apply at present the clause in the Defense Regulations concerning the wearing of uniforms, and that only uniforms "likely to be confused with those worn by members of His Majesty's forces" would be considered illegal. When I repeated this to a well-known Arab lawyer in Jerusalem he smiled wrily and told me there were men still in prison who had been jailed in 1936 merely for possessing Boy Scout uniforms. I asked him why he thought the authorities were permitting the formation of the Nejada and the Futuwa, and he replied emphatically: "There are three reasons: first, to provoke Arab-Jewish conflict; second, to act as a check on leftward developments among the Arabs; and third, to prepare Arab forces for an eventual war with Russia." He told me that as an old friend of the Mufti he was asked to join the Futuwa but had refused, saying, "If you really wanted to fight for Palestine's liberation you would be organizing an underground army."

The suspicion that these organizations are being formed with the agreement, if not at the instigation, of the British authorities is based not only on British willingess to waive the ban on uniforms and to ignore the possession of arms but also on the type of Arabs sponsoring them. The Futuwa is headed by Kamil Arekat, who is the son of an Arab police official and was himself an inspector in the C. I. D.—which everyone here refers to as "the Gestapo." Its political sponsor is Jamal Husseini, the Mufti's nephew. When he was returned to Palestine by the British from his detention in Rhodesia he had hardly alighted from his plane before he began bitter attacks on the Zionists. Arab leaders noted that he was not attacking the British policy as he used to and tried to discover just what was his new line. Most of them concluded that he was only a slightly disguised salesman for an Anglo-Arab alliance, and as a result his prestige is badly damaged. The younger generation of Arab nationalists feel that British domination is a much more important enemy than Zionism.

The suspicion of a British connection extends to the Mufti himself, and a number of responsible Arabs subscribe to the belief that the authorities are preparing his return to Palestine as a safely anti-Soviet Arab leader when the time is ripe. They point out that as long ago as January British political intelligence officers in this area were urging the Mufti's "escape" from Paris to Egypt or the Lebanon. It is also noteworthy that during his stay in Alexandria the Mufti has allowed himself to be interviewed in person for publication only by the London *Times* Middle Eastern correspondent, Brigadier Cyril D. Quilliam, who happens to have been Britain's chief intelligence officer in the Middle East during the war.

The Mufti is much more clever than Jamal Husseini and has not yet given any open sign that he has come to an agreement with Britain. He still has tens of thousands of fervent supporters in Palestine who will flock into the Nejada and the Futuwa if he gives the word. What is encouraging, however, is the degree of skepticism about the Mufti which exists among the younger, better-educated Arab nationalists. I spent an afternoon discussing the Mufti with young Arabs of varying shades of opinion, and they all supported one of their number who said: "We Arabs have learned in the last few years that our older, wealthier leaders are not dependable fighters for our freedom. They weaken and come to terms if their interests are threatened. We intend to fight the British for our freedom. If the Mufti wants to lead the fight, we are with him. If he doesn't, we'll fight him as well."

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What to Do with Neurotics

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

NEVER have I taken a worse beating than after the appearance of my article against placebos in *The Nation* of September 14. Friends stopped me on the street to reproach me, and I was almost overwhelmed by angry, scolding, or insulting letters. There were a few approving ones, to be sure, but—honesty compels the admission—very few. The protests came, with scattered exceptions, from the defendants in the case—that is, from physicians who prescribe placebos; approval was expressed by the victims of such treatment, the patients who had been deceived by placebos.

Most of my colleagues seemed horrified that in this age of psychosomatic medicine I had apparently never heard of neurotic and functional ailments and the need for psychotherapy in medical practice. But I object to this objection. And I refer to a statement by Dr. R. F. Mackey which I quoted in a previous article: "There can be no doubt that the misdiagnosis and mismanagement of the so-called functionally ill patient is the medical scandal of the day."

It is true that the majority of ailments for which medical help is required are caused by or connected with emotional or mental disturbances. My colleagues believe that the use of placebos—suggestion by deceit—is legitimate psychotherapy. I insist that it is cheap and unscientific psychotherapy and that though some immediate good results may be accomplished, there is a possibility of greater harm when the victim perceives the fraud. Who would not lose confidence in a physician after discovering that his prescription was only sugar? And does anybody seriously believe that a neurotic or psychosomatic condition can be as efficiently treated by suggestion as by honest methods of psychotherapy—that is, by thorough investigation of the cause and efforts to correct it?

The emotionally maladjusted citizen is the greatest social calamity of our time and, since citizens are patients, the most vital problem of medical practice. The invasion of neurotic patients into every field of medicine and the tremendous need for psychotherapy cannot be met by placebos. Efficient methods for treating the emotional impact of sickness without the use of fallacious suggestion can be taught, though it must be admitted that the facilities for teaching are sadly lacking. At this moment of crisis, psychotherapy is in a state of complete disorganization.

Dr. G. Brock Chisholm has said that this country needs 20,000 psychiatrists.* Of this number 3,000 are available, and as many as 200 more a year may be produced by existing training facilities. "If the population could remain constant both in numbers and in needs, and if it could be arranged that no psychiatrist would retire or die, there could be enough psychiatrists to meet the treatment needs in about eighty years." This psychotherapeutic reality is, indeed, grotesque. Millions of people need treatment, and only a few thousands can get it—at an exorbitant price and a tremendous sacrifice of time. The hours devoted to psychotherapeutic instruction in our medical schools are appallingly inadequate. Postgraduate training in the field is limited by bureaucratic, financial, and dogmatic restrictions. If psychiatry is to fulfil its urgent social duties, it must develop methods which can be applied to poor and rich, which require a minimum of time, and which can be used by an intelligent and cooperative general practitioner. Preventive psychiatry must be developed into a living science, and social conditions which today are responsible for a mass epidemic of neuroses must be investigated and "treated" by expert psychiatrists.

In the present upheaval of physical and mental unhappiness, we should not forget that the human mind has a miraculous power of balance and survival. Many neurotic symptoms are limited to short periods of personal or social catastrophe and are improved or cured by the patient's own effort as soon as the "emergency" is over. The tendency to start a psychotherapeutic treatment of many years in the presence of such symptoms is full of dangers. Though improvement often cannot be denied, psychotherapy can develop into a lifelong occupation for the patient and finally bankrupt him.

Psychiatrists are of course skeptical about the psychotherapeutic ability of common practitioners, but the results the latter have obtained, even now when so few of them have had special training, speak loudly in their favor. Dr. Peter G. Denker, of the Department of Neuropsychiatry, Bellevue Hospital, New York, has just published an account of 500 cases of severe psychoneurosis, leading to complete disability, that were treated by general practitioners. His investigation showed that there was *no significant difference in the therapeutic success obtained by practitioners, psychiatrists, and psycho-*

DR. GUMPERT, a New York physician, contributes monthly articles to The Nation *on new developments in medicine and related fields. He is the author of "You Are Younger Than You Think."*

* The National Mental Health Advisory Council recently estimated that 40,000 psychiatrists are needed.

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analysts. The result was even slightly in favor of the general practitioners—71 per cent of their cases "apparently cured" within two years of onset against 63 per cent of 1,000 analytical cases. This is most reassuring. It would seem to prove that, up to now, no certain or superior method of psychotherapeutic treatment has been developed. The efficiency of psychotherapy seems to depend on the individual physician's personality and effort rather than on his adherence to a specific school of psychiatric thought.

Psychoanalysts are today scarcer than bacon. There is hardly a chance for a poor neurotic fellow to buy himself a good analyst or to devote as much time to his treatment as would be required by psychoanalytic doctrine. If we recognize the public importance of psychotherapy for our social structure, we must educate more and better psychotherapists in our medical schools and integrate psychotherapy into the general practice of medicine and into our institutions of public health. We shall then have a better chance of overcoming the present wave of mass neurosis—without the harmful help of placebos.

The U. N. and the People of Africa

BY E. S. SACHS

ONE of the declared aims of the Charter of the United Nations is: "To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

In 1944 the International Labor Organization, which is now a section of the U. N., held a conference at Philadelphia. Nearly all the nations of the world with the exception of the fascist states were represented, and a document known as the Philadelphia Charter was adopted with great enthusiasm. The charter states as one of its fundamental principles that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed, or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity," and that "the attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy."

Recent events clearly indicate that the destiny of mankind, and especially of colonial peoples, is being determined not in accordance with the noble principles enunciated at San Francisco and Philadelphia but rather in accordance with more mundane considerations, such as military strategy and "life lines."

The vast African continent has always been a forgotten region. Shamefully divided up among a number of colonial powers, black Africa remains entirely neglected, inarticulate, and friendless. References to Africa in recent months have been almost entirely limited to the strategic importance of Cape Town and Cairo or to the development of air bases on the west coast, huge military centers in the east, and naval bases in North and South Africa. Little thought is given to the terrible fact that between Cairo and Cape Town, Dakar and Mombasa, a hundred million people exist in a state of social misery, political oppression, and economic exploitation.

These hundred million black-skinned members of the human race enjoy no human rights and no fundamental freedoms. They are permitted no voice in determining their own fate. They are compelled to live in primitive tribal backwardness, serving as vast reservoirs of cheap labor for rapacious mine owners and big farmers. Apparently the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity and the ideals of human freedom enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence have only a narrow geographical significance.

For decades the black people of Africa have been "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their foreign overlords. But what is most sinister is the fact that economic development and increased prosperity for investors seem only to bring more misery for the Africans. This is clearly illustrated in the Union of South Africa, by far the most important and, economically and industrially, the most highly developed part of Africa. During the war the Union experienced unprecedented prosperity. Gold mining, the basic industry of the country, makes an annual profit of more than fifty million pounds sterling. Its shares rose in value by several hundred millions in the last two years. Many shares rose 1,000 per cent. The discovery of new gold fields has still further increased the wealth of the industry.

But what about the position of the 400,000 native workers in the mines? This vast conscript army is composed almost entirely of indentured laborers recruited from the native reserves within the Union and in

E. S. Sachs is one of the outstanding trade-union leaders of South Africa. He has been attending the conference of the International Labor Organization at Montreal as a delegate of the South African workers.

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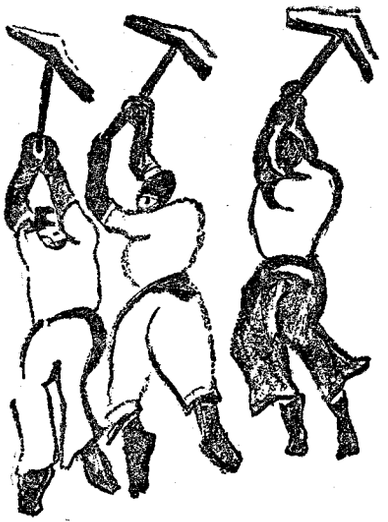

adjoining territories. They are forced to live in compounds hundreds and thousands of miles away from their families. They receive rations to keep them fit for work. Even cattle are usually supplied with straw beds, but these workers have to buy their own sacks of straw to lay on their cement beds. Their cash wage ranges from 35 cents to 45 cents a day; it is less today than it was fifty years ago, though the cost of living is up probably 100 per cent.

To keep wages depressed, the Chamber of Mines introduced years ago a pernicious system known as the "maximum average"; this fixes an average daily wage for laborers in all mines which may not be exceeded without penalty. The African Mine Workers' Union tried by peaceful means for several years to obtain a wage increase, but its representations were completely ignored. The right of collective bargaining being denied them, about 50,000 miners went out on strike some months ago. In dealing with this emergency, the Prime Minister, Field Marshal Smuts, who has an international reputation as a liberal, completely forgot the principles of the United Nations Charter which he helped to draft and acted with the ruthlessness that is customary with him in industrial disputes. All available police were mobilized and the strike was speedily settled. About twenty native workers were killed, scores of others were injured, and the leaders of the union were arrested. The workers were forced back into the mines with batons and sjamboks. The Nazis, when they killed their prisoners, often used the term "*auf dem Flucht erschossen*" (shot while trying to escape). The Union government spokesmen are more original and say ingeniously that the Africans were killed "in the course of a stampede."

The situation of the rest of the natives, who number 8,000,000 and constitute four-fifths of the entire population, is shamefully bad. The basic factor in the social and economic policy of that part of Africa south of the Equator is the insatiable demand of mine owners and farmers for cheap labor. In the Union alone more than one million native workers are employed in mining and agriculture. The most inhuman methods have been adopted to deprive the natives of land and to disrupt their means of subsistence, simply to force them to sell their labor to mining magnates and landlords at the lowest price. This policy is having a disastrous effect on the European population, hundreds of thousands of whom have become "poor whites," living in extreme poverty.

The Union government is seeking to incorporate Southwest Africa, over which it has a mandate, within the Union. The question has already been introduced into the discussions of the U. N. There will follow a further request on the part of the Union government for the incorporation of the High Commission Territories of Swaziland, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland, which are at present ruled by the British Colonial Office.

Southwest Africa was first annexed by Germany in 1884. German colonial policy in that territory was characterized by brutal repression and extermination. The colony was surrendered by the Germans to the Union government in 1915, and on December 17, 1920, the Union obtained a mandate from the League of Nations. The Union of South Africa governs the territory through an administrator, and subject to certain modifications the laws of the Union apply there. The 300,000 natives of Southwest Africa have no voice whatever in the government of the country, and little or nothing has been done to raise their living standards. In 1922 a revolt was put down with the utmost ruthlessness. Just before World War II the territory became a center of feverish Nazi activity.

For the U. N. to sanction annexation now by the Union of South Africa would not only violate the interests of the indigenous population but would clearly indicate the U. N.'s approval of unbridled exploitation of the native peoples of Africa. Southwest Africa cannot be properly considered apart from the whole of southern Africa, and it is high time that the position of all the people of Africa was given consideration by those who are about to try to mold the future of mankind. The tens of millions of downtrodden people of Africa are entitled to know whether they are human beings with a right to continue their material and spiritual development in conditions of "freedom and dignity, economic security and equal opportunity," or whether there is a "color bar" in the Charter of the U. N. and black-skinned people are excluded from its benefits.

Drawings by Nan Ronsheim
Johannesburg

If the basic principles of the U. N. Charter are not to become a mockery, it is imperative that before more millions of Africans are placed under the jurisdiction of the Union government, the condition of these unfortunate peo-

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ple be thoroughly investigated and the policy of the Union government clarified. In the course of such an investigation it is to be hoped that more attention will be given to the actual situation than to the lofty liberal statements of Field Marshal Smuts. There is a vast difference between the two.

Black Africa is crying out for justice. Civilized humanity must intervene, for the indigenous peoples of Africa are helpless and have no voice.

IN ONE EAR

BY LOU FRANKEL

THIS is the week our readers get their chance at the typewriter, while the editor sits on the other side of the desk and answers questions.

Dear Sir: One thing that makes me mad is when a good sustaining program is not carried by a local station because it has a program of its own, of inferior quality but sponsored. And while I'm on that subject, why doesn't Station WHCU carry the Saturday afternoon concerts of the Philadelphia Orchestra?
Ithaca, N. Y. ROBERT MARSH

It is true that many stations substitute local commercials for network sustainers, but please be honest about what you call good. Your query about WHCU and the Saturday afternoon Philadelphia concerts has selfish overtones. After all, Cornell University is in Ithaca, and now, during the football season, the students and citizens prefer hearing the play-by-play descriptions of the Cornell games. There are never enough seats at the games to satisfy the demand, and the next best thing is the radio.

Moreover, WHCU goes off the air at sundown. If it were to carry the Philadelphia music after the games, only thirty to forty-five minutes would be left for the program services that usually go through the afternoon; and these services include such essentials as news of the world, what is playing at the local film theaters, and late sports news. When the majority of listeners to WHCU want music instead of the Cornell games they'll get it. Right now they are apparently satisfied with the Philharmonic on Sunday afternoon.

Dear Sir: Can you explain why I must listen to the programs I don't like? B. K. SACHS
Baltimore

Too many of us refuse to listen to programs we think we shall not enjoy. Unlike plays, films, and books, which are generally reviewed by competent critics, radio has few reviewers. So most listeners keep to a few selected programs and don't experiment with others. If we agree that radio is too important to let go its own way without benefit of criticism, then it is worth the effort of lending an ear to the mass-appeal programs. If, having heard the program three times, you still think it is not worth listening to, you can document your distaste and so help radio to raise its standards.

Dear Sir: One of my pet peeves concerning radio is based on the use of accents and "racial" jokes. "Can You Top This?" and Fred Allen's "Alley" bother me most. Immigration has practically ceased. Soon everyone will be American born. Will the accent still be on the air fifty years from now? D. F.
Amherst College

The use of character comics complete with putty nose, baggy pants, and pot belly is as old as the theatrical profession. I wasn't around in the days of Aristophanes, but the butt of all jokes in those days was probably some long-bearded Persian. I do remember the Dutch comic artistry of Weber and Fields, the Scotch comedy of Harry Lauder and Will Fyffe, the Yiddish overtones of Willie Howard, and the pungent "Vass You Dere, Sharlie?" of Jack Pearl.

All of them were popular in the music halls, burlesque, vaudeville, and musical comedy before hitting radio. Today these broad comedy characters are practically passé, even though Ed Gardner has done well with a "dopy Irisher" and Fred Allen has been playing around with Irish brogue.

"Can You Top This?" is staffed by three ex and expert vaudevillians. They could no more do without their Jewish stories than without their cigars. No offense is intended.

The pleasure depends on the expertness of the performer. Fred Allen's "Senator Claghorn" is just as broad comedy as his "Mrs. Nussbaum." They are both well done, and Allen's program is among the first fifteen in the Hooperatings. "Can You Top This?" is often not so well done and ranks forty-fifth in the Hooperating popularity lists.

Dear Sir: At a meeting on Better Radio the fact was deplored that there weren't more good evaluations of radio such as there are for books and drama. . . . The attention of the group was called to what *The Nation* is now doing. The "Worth Hearing" postscript will appeal to many. Personally I wish the time of these programs might be given, as well as the day and network.
LaCrosse, Wis. GERTRUDE R. THUROW

So many network stations put programs on the air at a different time from the network itself—that is, they record the show and play it later—that any attempt to give the time of the network broadcast would, I am afraid, only irritate would-be listeners.

WORTH HEARING

HENRY MORGAN (ABC, Wednesdays). The problem child of radio comes of age with a full-fledged network commercial. Two notches below Fred Allen when it comes to spoofing and debunking sponsors but well worth hearing.

BOB TROUT (CBS, Monday through Friday). One of the best news shows on the air today. Accurate, impartial, and interesting.

MEET THE PRESS (MBS, Fridays). Four top newsmen gang up on a national figure in a weekly press conference that is often more revealing than was anticipated.

BURL IVES (transcribed). Philco is sponsoring the guitar strumming and earthy ballad singing of Burl Ives on most stations. Too much commercial and not enough Burl Ives.

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The People's Front

THE French Synarchists founded several other secret organizations, of which the most important was the "Cagoule" (C. S. A. R.—Comité secret d'action révolutionnaire), an extreme rightist military outfit whose members held commanding positions in the army. Pétain and his adviser, Loustaneau-Lacau, joined the C. S. A. R.; General Giraud and Lemaigre-Dubreuil, who pleaded the General's cause before the Americans in North Africa, were at least in contact with the "hooded men."

The Paris uprising of February 6, 1934, represented the first attempt of French synarchism to seize power; although the putschists were forced to retreat somewhat by popular reaction, which swept a people's front government into office in June of that year, they continued to build a fifth column which infiltrated the new administration. Jean Coutrot, whose mysterious death I mentioned in my last article, succeeded in having himself named adviser in the Ministry of Economy headed by Charles Spinasse (who later, during the Vichy regime, turned collaborator and was expelled from the Socialist Party). There Coutrot acted as a veritable provocateur, suggesting to Spinasse a series of ultra-radical and unrealistic measures which could not but discredit the Blum government. At the same time he used his influence to obtain key administrative posts for important Synarchists, notably Branger and Hekking. Coutrot also took advantage of his official position to create a number of research groups which were in fact synarchist cells—the "Ecole d'organization scientifique" of which he became president, the "Centre polytechnicien d'études économiques," and the Centre d'études humaines." Among the members of the last-named organization was the famous Dr. Alexis Carrel, who spent some time in the United States lecturing to university students on subjects which included, incidentally, the evils of democracy and the merits of totalitarianism. When the Third Republic was overthrown in June, 1940, Pétain as Chief of State promptly distributed leading government jobs to the Synarchists.

Like their counterparts in pre-Hitler Germany, French heavy industry, big business, and banking groups financed the synarchist movement from its inception. The *inspecteurs de finances,* who exercised wide powers and enjoyed special prerogatives under the Third Republic, played an important part in this operation. Together with the old Senate and the Quai d'Orsay, they formed the three pillars of French reaction. In 1928 Louis Fourmery, who is believed to have been one of the founders of the M. S. E. and was in any case a ranking member, took a leave of absence from his post as a general finance inspector to negotiate a private deal between the Kuhlman interests in France and the I. G. Farbenindustrie. He returned to his department in 1930 and from that time on promoted collaboration between the various industrialists in Germany who were working to make Hitler Reich Chancellor and those in France who were trying to instal a government headed by Marshal Pétain; if successful, they planned to create a strong Continental bloc aimed at halting the advance of the progressive forces in Europe. The banking firm of Hippolyte Worms put through an agreement, similar to the one concluded by Fourmery, between the Klöckner-Werken A. G. and the French combine of Humboldt-Deutz. Along with the Banque Worms, the Banque d'Indo-Chine went all out to tighten the ties between the German and French cartels and facilitate their joint endeavors to steer National Socialism and synarchism along a parallel course.

Despite the highly secret character of the M. S. E., the following men have been identified as members: Paul Baudoin, director of the Banque d'Indo-Chine and a friend of Mussolini, who with the help of the attractive Hélène de Portès became right-hand adviser to Premier Paul Reynaud in the last months before France's capitulation; Jacques Guérard, a banker who held the post of Ambassador to Lisbon under the Vichy regime; Jacques Barnaud of the Banque Worms, a great favorite with Göring, who was responsible for handing over to the Germans the major French chemical industries headed by the Francolor trust; Jacques Benoît-Méchin, author of a book on the Reichswehr, who was rewarded for his services to the German army by being named a director of the Banque Worms after the 1940 armistice; Pierre Pucheu, Vichy Minister of the Interior and organizer of the Franco-German steel cartel.

Today the M. S. E. is attempting to restore those intimate ties between French and German industrialists which it had so painstakingly built up before the war. It is significant that a former collaborator and Synarchist, M. Filippi, who held the post of Chief of the Financial Department under Pétain, is now General Director for Economic Questions in the French Military Government at Baden-Baden. Perhaps it seems ridiculous to worry about German industrialists at the present time, but it is certain that international big business is already trying to stage a comeback in Germany with the help of American capital.

In his article in the *Schweizer Annalen,* Sordet hints that the main base of operations of the Synarchists is shifting from Europe to the United States, and he names Admiral Leahy, Robert Murphy, and du Pont de Nemours not as members but as individuals they hope to use to make contact with influential Catholic and industrial groups here. The catastrophic defeat suffered by the American progressive forces on November 5 will undoubtedly strengthen the M. S. E.'s conviction that the new center of opposition to every form of collectivism is to be found in this country. The Republican victory will also have a big effect in Latin America; although Mexican sinarquism has until now had no links with the Mouvement Synarchique d'Empire, eventual amalgamation of these para-fascist organizations in the Western Hemisphere is not inconceivable.

DEL VAYO

[*Mr. del Vayo's first article on the synarchist movement appeared on this page last week.*]

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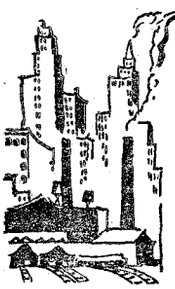

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Competitors of Coal

IN A counterblast against the latest demands of the United Mine Workers for higher wages and other benefits the National Coal Association has issued a statement which accuses the miners' leader, John L. Lewis, of "digging the grave of his own followers." By winning "still higher wages for still less work" Mr. Lewis, the statement declares, "will destroy the jobs of tens of thousands of them [the miners] by pricing out of the market coal that must be sold if they are to have employment in digging it. The government may . . . sign on the dotted line. It may decree higher maximum prices for coal, thereby giving the mine owners permission to pass along to the consumers new increases in labor costs per ton. But the government cannot compel users of coal to stick to coal."

Mr. Lewis has given no sign that he is impressed by such arguments. He probably believes that in view of the very heavy demand for all fuels at this time, the traffic can bear another round of wage and price increases. For the present, he may consider that there will be plenty of employment for his "boys," who may as well make hay while the sun shines. And, to be sure, the competition of new industries, such as natural gas, is not necessarily a good argument for holding down wages in old ones. Nor is it a certain method of checking the rise of rival industries. Buggy-makers, for instance, might have worked for no wages at all in the early years of this century, but they could not have prevented, or even delayed, the onrush of the automobile.

But if Mr. Lewis sweeps aside the anxieties of the operators, it does not mean that he is indifferent to the threat of competitive fuels. He is well aware of that problem, and he is dealing with it by political methods. Part of the payoff he expects for assistance rendered to the Republicans in the campaign just concluded is undoubtedly a helping hand in throttling the growth of the competitors of coal. These are three in number, putting aside atomic energy as merely a potential rival—oil, natural gas, and water-power. They are all formidable.

In the past thirty years production of coal in this country, both anthracite and bituminous, has increased by roughly 20 per cent; that is to say, it has barely kept in step with the rising population and has been far outstripped by industrial capacity. In the same period oil output from domestic sources has jumped about four and a half times, that of natural gas nearly as much, and hydroelectric power production rather more. During the five years 1916-20 coal accounted for 80 per cent of our energy supplies in terms of British thermal units; in 1943, the latest year for which data are available, its share was only just over 50 per cent. Oil in the earlier period provided about 10 per cent of the total supply; natural gas and water-power each around 4 per cent. In 1943 the respective shares of these fuels were 26 per cent, 10.7 per cent, and 11.8 per cent.

This is not a situation about which Mr. Lewis is likely to be complacent, for it carries a double threat to his union. In times of stress it means increasing pressure on the price of coal; in the event of disputes in the industry it tends to lessen the effectiveness of the strike weapon by offering consumers alternative fuels. It is easy to understand, therefore, why the miners have consistently opposed TVA and similar projects that reduce the effectiveness of their monopoly. Mr. Lewis shares with his Republican friends a distaste for cheap public power.

Similarly Mr. Lewis, however loudly he may thunder at the misdeeds of capitalists on occasion, is more than ready to team up with such capitalist enterprises as the railroads against the common enemy, natural gas. The natural-gas industry, based on what used to be a waste product of the oil fields, is one of the most rapidly growing in the country. At the present time it is expecting to spend $500,000,000 on expansion and has plans filed with the Federal Power Commission for the construction of 6,000 miles of main trunk pipelines. Coal interests allege that completion of all these projects would mean the displacement of 50,000,000 tons of coal annually; railroaders complain of "uneconomic competition" which threatens to deprive them of 25 per cent of their coal freight.

From the national point of view, however, it is very uneconomic to allow natural gas to be wasted, and at the present time enough is being burned up at the source or permitted to escape into the atmosphere to heat from three to five million homes. One proposal for the useful disposition of this gas involves the utilization of the Big and Little Inch pipelines, built during the war to insure oil supplies in the Northeast. More than two months ago seven different bids from companies wishing to convert these lines to natural-gas carriers were submitted to the War Assets Administration, along with a number of offers from other interests which sought to use them as oil carriers. On the meager details that have been published it is hard to say which of the various proposals would be financially most advantageous to the Treasury. But there is little doubt that the public interest would be much better served if the "Inches" were utilized to bring cheap natural gas, which has much greater heating efficiency than manufactured gas, to the New York area.

However, some mysterious opposition has apparently held up action in the War Assets Administration, which is said to favor retention of the pipelines as oil carriers even though there are now plenty of tankers available to bring oil. If this is the final decision, it will be a great victory for Mr. Lewis, who has certainly been using all the influence he can mobilize to keep the New York fuel market for the coal mines. But it will be a defeat for the people of the United States, like every other monopolist's triumph. Mr. Lewis is entitled to get a decent living wage for his miners and to ask that those people who use coal pay a price that will cover such a wage. But he is not entitled to say that consumers must be barred from alternative sources of heat and power any more than the cotton interests are entitled to hinder women from wearing silks and rayons.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Diplomats and Ideologues

WHERE ARE WE HEADING? By Sumner Welles. Harper and Brothers. $3.

SUMNER WELLES'S "Where Are We Heading?" is the most important book published in some time on the subject of United States foreign policy. It is significant in first instance as an informed and intelligent inventory of the leading problems on Secretary Byrnes's agenda, with the relevant facts well marshaled and the comment keen and to the point. But its essential value may well lie in its sustained expression of a point of view oddly lacking in the current debate over foreign policy—the point of view of the professional diplomat.

This point of view is, of course, that foreign policy is a complex and subtle matter of practical adjustment which seeks a new form of international equilibrium through a dispassionate assessment of the political, economic, and moral tendencies which have upset the old. One might look for this attitude first of all in the State Department. It certainly would not be incompatible with the attitude of Mr. Byrnes. But his predecessors fairly well rooted out the enlightened professional view; so that the Secretary, thrown back on his own instincts as a cloakroom compromiser, has backed at one time or another most available solutions of the Russian question—except the warlike one which the followers of Mr. Wallace have dishonestly sought to pin on him—without any clear idea of our diplomatic objectives.

Yet Mr. Byrnes at least stands above his immediate predecessors in having an intermittent and apparently growing awareness of the nature of diplomatic problems. Mr. Hull was an eloquent and testy rhetorician who cared little for the details of diplomatic operations; and Mr. Stettinius was —well, Mr. Stettinius (or, in the cold exactitudes of Mr. Welles, a man "devoid of any knowledge of international relations or even of modern history and lacking the personal qualifications desirable in so high an office"). Under the Hull regime the very word diplomat came to evoke the image, not of Mr. Welles, say, and even less of Harold Nicolson, but of James Clement Dunn or some other of the Secretary's croquet playmates—the *PM* stereotype of a gentleman in striped trousers drinking tea and praising Franco. Not the least of Hull's disservices was this degradation of the diplomatic profession by favoritism to some of its least worthy members; and another of his dubious contributions was the elevation to diplomatic principle of what Welles calls—without reference to Hull, whom he studiously ignores—"the desire to believe that because some proposal is righteous and desirable, the formulation of it in writing is necessarily equivalent to the actual realization of the objectives sought."

With this last notion prevailing in the State Department, it is natural enough that the public debate over foreign policy should have fallen into the hands of sentimental ideologues. The United States, indeed, appears to have inherited the penchant for moralism which used to be Britain's specialty in international discussions. Henry Wallace and John Foster Dulles define the type—men who are possessed by strong, vague, pseudo-religious emotions but who lack the clarity or fortitude to distinguish consistently between the realm of power and the realm of value and are thus able to merge or divorce the two as suits the polemic need of the moment. Our sermonizing tradition dies hard, and one can hardly escape the impression that most people on both sides of the debate think foreign policy a matter of casting out devils.

The Welles position with its apparent indifference to ideological prepossessions will undoubtedly be confusing or even shocking to the more ardent followers of either Wallace or Dulles. Welles is a realist, not in the sense of a person who excludes moral considerations, but in the sense of a person who refuses to exclude power considerations. For him the imperative moral and political tendencies of the day are part of the data which the diplomat must take into account; they stand along with strategic and economic necessities as the facts of life to which the practitioners of foreign policy must make their precise adjustments in order to attain international stability. Moreover, for him diplomacy as a system for managing international relations has its own values and resources which the moralists tend to overlook.

Consequently his crucial standards are technical, not theological; and he is careful to distinguish between his private feelings and his views of public policy. He will refrain from denouncing the internal conditions of a regime—whether Argentina or the U. S. S. R.—if it faithfully observes its international commitments, though his realism requires him to add that non-democratic countries have inherent tendencies toward instability which lead them to violate international agreements. Communism is repugnant to him as a way of life, but the notion that democracy and communism cannot coexist in the same world strikes him as an "insane delusion." He regards Russia as "one of the greatest attempts to attain human betterment that the world has ever known" and believes that "society in every part of the earth will eventually be profoundly affected by it." Yet he never deludes himself into regarding the Soviet Union as a somewhat larger Brook Farm community, and his evaluation of its motives and objectives seems fair and penetrating.

He maintains the same balance in exploring a wide range of subjects. He castigates Peronism in Latin America, but he does not kid himself into thinking that impulsive interventionism is the way to stop it. He repeats his earlier indictment of Roosevelt's Spanish policy ("in 1937 the Roosevelt Administration was guilty of its greatest error in its handling of the issues raised by the Spanish civil war") and speaks of the "interminable shilly-shallying" of our policy toward De Gaulle. In all such questions his emphasis is empirical rather than ethical. The Hull Latin American policy "could only have been justified if it could have been expected to bring about practical results. The stupidity of the policy adopted lay in the fact that financial or economic coercion

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by the United States (alone) could never be effective." He calls Roosevelt's Spanish policy an "error," where another kind of critic would call it a sin. Our policy toward De Gaulle "had not only been unfortunate, it had been stupid."

Welles clearly belongs to the school which finds blunders worse than crimes. This form of dispassion does not reject the issues that agitate Dulles or Wallace; it simply recognizes their relation to the power issues involved, so that Welles avoids the moral complacency which is likely to strike the Russians, in the case of Dulles, or the British, in the case of Wallace, as hypocrisy. Such a point of view reflects years of professional experience with diplomacy as a technique and an art.

It is unfortunate, though perhaps inevitable, that Welles's style should also bear so unmistakably the stamp of the foreign service. The book is written in the manner of a prolonged State Department cable and tends to be opaque and incommunicative. Even his occasionally mordant wit is muffled under the prose, as in his dry observation on vice-presidents: the liberal Argentine President Ortiz "was succeeded by the Vice-President, Dr. Ramon S. Castillo, who, as is not infrequently the case in republics where the vice-presidential candidates are nominated for reasons of political expediency rather than because of their ability, was the complete antithesis of President Ortiz."

As Welles points out, the current confusion of the American people over foreign policy shows itself in two different extremist tendencies—the panicky drift toward imperialism and the panicky drift toward appeasement. To arrest these tendencies the State Department and the American people must develop a clear notion of national objectives in foreign policy. "Where Are We Heading?" should do something to get the public debate off the Dulles-Wallace level of high morality and down to practicalities. But the great task has to be done at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Seventeenth Street. This book reminds us forcibly that the man best prepared for this task by experience and capacity is being tragically wasted at a time when the nation can spare him least.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

Capital

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF CAPITAL. By C. E. Ayres. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

C. E. AYRES has written this acute and lively book as a sequel to his more highbrow "The Theory of Economic Progress." It should have a wide appeal: it is clear, its chapters are short, and it deals with the assumptions of orthodox economists with refreshing irreverence. Furthermore, it is completely devoid of charts, diagrams, and statistics. One wishes that more philosophers like Mr. Ayres—or Adam Smith—would look at economics.

For what economics needs, and has needed for many years, is a thorough going over such as physics got from men like Eddington, Whitehead, and Bridgman in the years after Einstein announced his general theory. The difficulty in the case of economics, of course, is that its theories and concepts are affected if not determined by class and personal interests, with the result that economic inquiry tends to produce not truth but doctrines which support either the possession or the acquisition of economic advantage and power. The criticism of doctrines, assumptions, and logic requires the breadth of view and intellectual acumen of one who has been trained in philosophy. This is the kind of criticism that economics should have, and it receives it from Professor Ayres.

By the orthodox Professor Ayres will very likely be regarded as a heretic, like Silvio Gesell, Hobson, and Veblen. But if they will consider his writing seriously, even at the risk of losing their faith in the divine right of capital, they will widen their perspective and perhaps get some idea of how to save private enterprise from capitalists on the one hand and the bureaucratic state on the other.

Professor Ayres holds that the predatory power of capitalists resides primarily not, as Marx claimed, in their ownership of the means of production but in their control over funds which they need not spend and which they are not required to invest. Owing to the gross disparities in the distribution of income the demand for consumers' goods is usually inadequate, whereas savings are excessive in relation to opportunities for investment. Under these conditions a mass-production economy cannot function. The solution, says Professor Ayres, is to tax large incomes so that savings will be sufficiently reduced, and to spend the revenue for social welfare so that consumption will be sufficiently increased. In this way we can achieve full production and employment.

Professor Ayres gives no estimates of what tax rates would have to be in order to accomplish the result he desires. Here is work for tax experts and statisticians who have been persuaded to Professor Ayres's general views as to the nature of the economy and his analysis of the factors which cause its periodic breakdown.

As Professor Ayres takes a broad view of the economy, and as his book is short, there are many details that are touched on lightly or altogether left out of account. Orthodox economists will be able to think of many difficulties in carrying out the author's program which they can use as arguments for opposing it. However, the real significance of this book does not lie in its particular remedy for depressions but in its criticism of the assumptions and logic of the prevailing theory of capitalism. If a considerable number of economists adopted Professor Ayres's approach to economic problems it might still be possible to evolve a comprehensive program for achieving a long period of prosperity under private enterprise. Whether such a program would be adopted would depend, of course, upon the victory of reason and liberalism over prejudice, intrenched privilege, and political reaction.

E. R. WALKER

What Gorky Remembered

REMINISCENCES OF TOLSTOY, CHEKHOV, ANDREYEV. By Maxim Gorky. Dover Publications. $2.75.

THERE is a Gorky legend (remember that legend may be, not fiction, but truth simplified and magnified): Gorky the tramp, the outcast, the man from the abyss, the voice of "creatures that once were men." In glorifying him the Soviets made him the Laureate of the Proletariat, an un-

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couth, rough-hewn figure. These "Reminiscences" reveal a totally different Gorky: a conscious artist, at home with artists, their equal in sensitiveness and refinement. The most fascinating are the notes on Tolstoy. Gorky felt reverence, not before genius merely, but before a spiritual quality which he himself calls "divine." Yet he was puzzled and exasperated by the Tolstoy mystery: the would-be mujik who could not forget he was a barin, the apostle who was still a subtle artist, the believer who needed God to be sure of his own soul but was angry at times with God Himself for not keeping the tryst. The friendship with Chekhov was pure and beautiful. Of Chekhov's stories Gorky says: "A melancholy day of late autumn, when the air is transparent, and the outline of naked trees, narrow houses, grayish people is sharp." This is not mere prettiness: pages of elaborate criticism would tell us no more. His feelings for Leonid Andreyev had a tinge of pity and contempt. Andreyev was a conscious, a wilful degenerate, who sought genius—or the illusion of genius—through insanity. The all too brief section on Alexander Blok is excellent also. The last passage, Blok and the Harlot, shows how a trite sentimental theme can be redeemed through transparent delicacy. The translations, by various hands, are good—at least they are good English, for I cannot check their accuracy—and not unworthy of Katherine Mansfield herself. I wish I could quote many passages which, quite incidentally, throw light on philosophical and political problems. In the age-long fight against thought ("Thought is evil," said Tertullian) Andreyev struck a deep note: "Reason is the old witch Conscience in disguise." It will not allow us to enjoy comfortable belief in peace. The notion that the Russian proletariat has been hopelessly vulgarized by a "realistic" government is preposterous. Dostoevski, Tolstoy, and Gorky himself remain more Russian and more human than Karl Marx and Djugashvili.

ALBERT GUERARD

The Caveman's Point of View

MAN: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By George R. Stewart. Random House. $2.75.

MR. STEWART, who has written a novel about the weather and a successful history of place-naming in the United States, has produced in his latest book, "Man: An Autobiography," a general history. What is new about Mr. Stewart's history is, first, that it is written in the first person by "man" himself, and second, that it emphasizes "prehistory"—history before men lived in cities and learned to write. Of the present volume fully one-half is devoted to man's pre-urban career, two-thirds unrolls before the Hebrews and the Greeks enter the scene, and only thirty pages are left to handle the period since 1700 A.D.

What is the value of Mr. Stewart's innovations? Telling the story in the first person seems definitely bad. One is inevitably confused as to who "I"—that is, "man"—is. While "I" generally speaks with all the knowledge available to a modern social scientist, he often exhibits the unscientific snap judgments and even prejudices of the common man—for example, his disdain for scholarship and scholars. We soon forget that this is "man" talking and assume it is only George R. Stewart, but we are jarred when he uses phrases like "my peoples" or "my archaeologists."

The second innovation—for which Mr. Stewart cannot take credit; H. G. Wells and Harry Elmer Barnes, to mention the first names that come to mind, have treated prehistory at length—is good. The urban civilizations of Mesopotamia and Egypt that once appeared full blown on the horizon, inexplicable growths on the body of savagery, are now seen as the end-products of an incredibly long and complex process of social and technical invention and change. The idea of viewing history from the vantage point of the past rather than the present is good, and properly executed should lead to an interesting and important perspective.

Mr. Stewart's book is easy to read and hardly anyone will fail to find something suggestive in it, particularly in his discussions of physical changes in early men and of the first great inventions. But Mr. Stewart goes beyond his valid role as popularizer of history and presumes to create it: he distorts it, either unconsciously or for dramatic ends.

He ignores huge gaps in the archaeological record, the sudden disappearances and appearances of cultures, the variety among cultures, from the very beginning; instead, he creates a myth of a single continuous cultural tradition, for which we have no evidence. He glorifies the Neolithic village and devalues the city civilizations which succeeded it, choosing his facts for the purpose. Neolithic life was not so peaceful as he pictures it, and the cities' slavery and conquests, which he decries, were advances over earlier extermination policies and for the first time permitted different cultures to coexist in the same territory. To make his Neolithic Golden Age brighter, he assumes that Neolithic men had a rational, naturalistic view of the world, on the evidence of their inventions—agriculture, domestication, pottery, cloth. Yet these same inventions recur in contemporary Neolithic-type societies, and are there imbedded in magical and religious beliefs. This overestimation of Neolithic society leads him to underestimate the importance of scientific thought as developed among the Greeks and in modern times.

Some readers will find Mr. Stewart's—and his publisher's—cavalier attitude toward scholars as annoying as any theoretical defect. The men who made possible this neatly written "novel"—the blurb calls it that—are dismissed without a thank-you; rather, a sneer. There is no bibliography; readers who might be stimulated by Mr. Stewart's account to find

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out more about early human history are given no hint as to where to turn. For such readers I would like to mention an excellent book with which to follow up Mr. Stewart's account—Gordon Childe's "What Happened in History" (Penguin). And this book, much fuller and more accurate than Mr. Stewart's, though not quite as light reading, and by an authority, is only twenty-five cents. NATHAN GLAZER

Paris, 1919

SUITORS AND SUPPLIANTS. By Stephen Bonsal. Prentice Hall. $3.50.

CRYING over spilt milk may be of some use if it helps us to be more careful next time. History is the best teacher, as Hegel wrote, but it has uncommonly inattentive pupils. In May, 1919, a Ukrainian delegate said to Major Bonsal: "The Allies, thanks to America, have won the war; but will they win the peace?" He might ask the same question today. There is a ghastly resemblance between Signor Orlando's argument on Fiume and Signor de Gasperi's on Trieste. The same horse-trading and name-calling went on with a different Russia. Zinoviev boasted that "with these words we slapped President Wilson in the face." Albania opposed an Italian protectorate, and as early as March, 1919, Nouri al Said, the adviser of Emir Feisal, complained about "Jewish intruders brought to our land." Many of the issues which clouded the Paris conference in 1919 have to be faced by the current conference. Major Bonsal's candid chronicle implicitly admits the blunders which resulted in the failure of the treaties. Although the jealousy between the ex-Allies was less conspicuous then, the blunders resulting from overheated nationalism are the same. One shortcoming was and is incompetence. Colonel House told the author, who was his aide: "I think I can handle Lloyd George and the 'Tiger,' but into your hands I commit all the mighty men of the rest of the world." He did indeed handle those "strange people," and his interviews with them are recorded in this book.

But even a brilliant journalist like the author cannot be expected to be equally familiar with the problems of the Poles, the Ukrainians, the Koreans, the Rhineland, and others on which he served as an expert to Colonel House. It is not surprising that he took Father Hlinka for the representative of Slovakia, "who deserved a better fate." He faithfully reports all cock-and-bull stories, including the statement that Hlinka stood for a union with Hungary. Yet a British authority has written that this "turbulent priest . . . surpassed the most chauvinist Czechs in his hatred of Hungary." Major Bonsal has won a historical prize, but his book, a fine piece of journalism, is certainly no history. No historian would call Kerensky "one of the many fugitive Pinks," or indorse Bratianu's statement that the Rumanians only took back what the Hungarian regiments stole from them. Major Bonsal admits some of the blunders of the peacemakers, but hardly shows how they could have been avoided. "Better to have had no revolution at all," was Iswolsky's opinion, which the author seems to share—admitting, however, that "the making of history is a difficult task whether undertaken by the philosophers in their closets or by the orators in the market places." The task is no easier for army officers and journalists. RUSTEM VAMBERY

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BRIEFER COMMENT

The Sugar-Coated Pill

TO LEVEL CRITICISM of any kind at a book so well-intentioned, competent, and reasonable as Margaret Halsey's on race relations, "Color Blind" (Simon and Schuster, $2.50), might be considered little short of churlish were it not for the fact that a determinedly bright and humorous attitude to a subject essentially unhumorous has much the same antagonizing effect, on this reader at any rate, as an evangelist's intimacies with the Almighty. "Most writing on the race problem," says Miss Halsey, "falls into one of two classes. Either it is passionate fiction about race clashes . . . or else it is passionless non-fiction loaded to the gunwales with statistics." There is, it would seem, a certain need for either passion or statistics which is not entirely compensated for by the substitution of humor.

Miss Halsey, who worked during the war at a service men's canteen where race discrimination was not practiced, has based her book largely on her experiences at the canteen and on a really excellent memorandum that she put out for the white hostesses. This memorandum attacked, with sound common sense and good humor, the stock prejudices about Negroes and answered the questions that would arise while the girls were working. The book is in effect little more than an enlargement of this pamphlet. Though prejudices about Negroes are deep-rooted, they are not very numerous, and though Miss Halsey's answers are pointed and wise, they do not lend themselves to extension; so that the book becomes, perforce, rather repetitive. Then also Miss Halsey's humor, in which the book abounds, is based largely on the most elaborate pranks with similes.

In short, Miss Halsey has stated, not to say reiterated, with insight, humor, and sincerity, the sound opinions of an enlightened and well-balanced individual on the Negro question. Though she can hardly be said to have shed any new light on the subject, she has certainly illuminated it with a bright one, and probably she has brought the matter to the attention of a number of persons in whose minds the question would have remained a vague, unformulated annoyance. That the book can hardly be considered a very weighty contribution to the solution of the problem is probably a small price to pay for awakening a large number of consciences.

ANTHONY BOWER

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The Chinese Puzzle

TO A WESTERN observer the labyrinth of Chinese society must seem as intricate as its language. It took both courage and ingenuity for Olga Lang, author of "Chinese Family and Society" (Yale, $4), to attack the Chinese character first. That accomplished, she was able to dive into the midst of Chinese life, swimming through its classical and modern literature as well as through the depths of daily life in modern China. She emerged without losing her perspective: "China needs world culture to become happy and prosperous," but "the world needs China to develop its civilization to the highest possible level," since China can teach it "how to be tolerant and human." It is a message from the fermenting chaos.

Miss Lang shows how Confucianism governed all Chinese relationships until it was checked by the influx of all kinds of Western ideas—Christianity, fascism, communism, and democracy. Imperial China, which had enforced the dominance of Confucianism in order to guarantee submission, was replaced by republican China; this upheaval destroyed the old family and established the new. Then the society itself began to disintegrate. The factory girl no longer is willing to be no more than the daughter-in-law of her husband's parents, but insists on being the wife and companion of her husband. The girl who used to welcome foot-binding now despises it. The children begin to criticize their parents. Several families may still share one room in Shanghai's factory area, but the individuals read newspapers, discuss international problems.

The author does not present this development as universal; reactions to the old and the new ideas varied with different classes. Miss Lang's laborious examination of different levels of society has brought to the reader a lively succession of stories, either quoted from novels or written from personal experience; academic rigidity is transformed, almost, into entertainment. While the tables and the analysis may interest students of sociology, the ordinary reader may find the incidents from the novels more entertaining. And the existence of such great lyricists as Chu Yuan and Lee Yi-san should convince Miss Lang that China does not have to deplore its "poverty" of lyric poetry.

YANG KANG

Descanso, U. S. A.

LIKE THE LYNDS' MIDDLETOWN or James West's Plainville, Ruth D. Tuck's Descanso (the Spanish word for Repose) is an unidentified medium-sized American city not to be found on any map. Her book, "Not with the Fist" (Harcourt, Brace, $3), deals primarily with the city's "colonia"—the section composed of immigrants or descendants of immigrants from nearby Mexico, generally thought of as being slightly above the Negro, probably slightly above the native Indian as well, but certainly far below the Anglo-Americans. The "whites" keep them in the "place" where they "belong," if not with their fists, at least with their elbows. Hitler's and Madison Grant's racial nonsense helps prevent the dark-skinned Mexican minority from holding public office or enjoying full social equality. The outspoken and well-informed author blames the Mexican Americans' miserable caste status partly on the fact that the "whites" do not know or do not care to know their Mexican fellow-townsmen. True, there exist genuine cultural differences between these groups, at least as far as the older generations are concerned, but Miss Tuck, a believer in "cultural pluralism," considers it unfair to object to the Mexican Americans' use of Spanish in public, and to demand that they abandon their foreign ways. The author prefers the Soviets' idea of letting national minority groups retain their cultural autonomy while the state provides them avenues for fuller participation in the entire nation's life.

An improvement of the position of our three million Mexican Americans can be brought about only through sincere cooperation between them and the Anglo-American majority. Miss Tuck does not say that the "colonia" consists of angels only; she finds there reaction, egotism, and chauvinism as well. But as long as policemen arrest intoxicated Mexicans and overlook white drunkards, as long as our newspapers purposely exaggerate the Mexicans' guilt in "zoot-suit" riots, as long as employers refuse to hire Mexicans except in an emergency and labor leaders stick to the color line, as long as unscrupulous politicians reply to any suggestion of improving the Mexicans' status with the unfair question, "Would you want your daughter to marry a Mexican?" and grant these fellow-Americans only third-rate housing, education, and jobs—as long as all this happens, any minor faults of these Mexican Americans are completely overshadowed by our own major sins.

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Drama

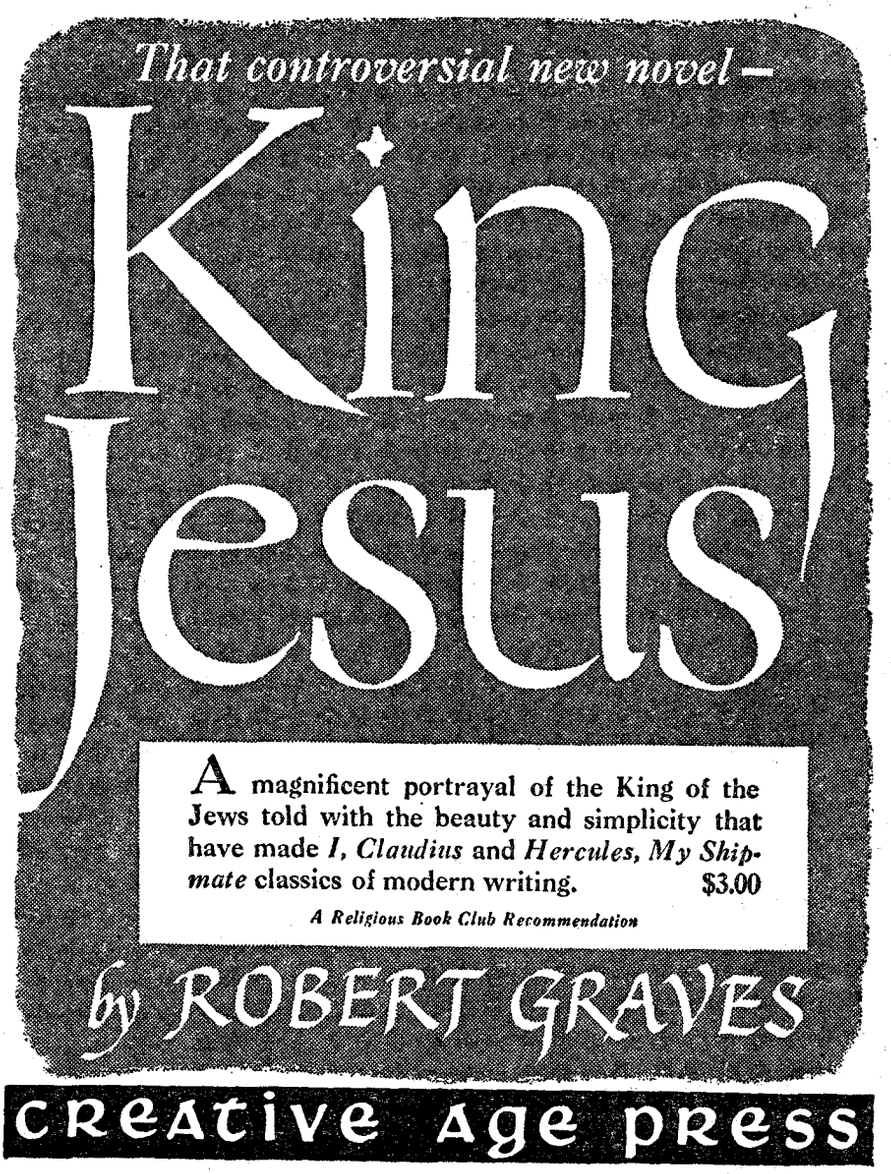
JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

HEADS are already shaking over the prevalence of revivals during the current season, but the two latest new plays may well give pause to the most jaundiced opponent of the classics. "Present Laughter" (Plymouth Theater) is very wilted Noel Coward, and "Happy Birthday" (Broadhurst Theater) is a music-hall skit not too successfully disguised as a comedy. Neither, moreover, is a novelty except by courtesy, for the first is shamefully plagiarized from its author's previous works, and most of the material in the second was already in the public domain.

That Mr. Coward should be weary after all these years of determined youthfulness is understandable enough, but weary he obviously is, and "Present Laughter" — whose sprightliness is about as convincing as a hoofer's smile —appears to have been written out of sheer force of habit. All the characters say even "Good Morning" or "No, thank you" with the roguish air of having just got off something too utterly utter; though half the audience seems to laugh obediently when laughter is asked for, most of the laugh lines are neither stale wit nor bad wit but simply not wit at all. The central character is that very familiar figure, the popular actor pursued by more women than he quite knows what to do with; and the plot, if one may call it that, seems to have been made up as the author went along. At one point one of the personages protests that she feels like a character in a French farce—Mr. Coward ought to be by now sufficiently wise in the ways of the theater to know that it seldom does a playwright any good to admit how bad he is. There is a solemn youth supposed to have some sort of fixation on the hero, who pops in and out to create a disturbance whenever it becomes evident that the action is about to lie down to die, and the big scene, in which, owing to some odd arrangement of the wiring, a deceived husband is able to talk to his wife in an adjoining bedroom while supposing she is in her own home, succeeds only in making the spectator wonder what Sheridan could have done if he had only had a telephone behind that famous screen. At ten minutes to eleven the three principal male characters get absorbed in the details of a new theatrical enterprise upon which they are about to embark and totally forget their recent discovery that all three have been going to bed with the wife of one of them. Mr. Coward may be disappointed to find that, though few are shocked, more will remember that he used a similarly pleasant little polyandrous arrangement to conclude a former play. Can it be that his apparent obsession with it has sociological significance and that it is indeed one more sign of the approaching Downfall of the West? In lusty ages it is generally assumed that your hero needs several women. In that section of contemporary English society which Mr. Coward knows best males apparently find one whole one too much and are relieved at an opportunity to club up.

To make the whole play more depressing, it has a thesis expounded by a raisonneur in the last act with all the solemnity of a French well-made play. Our hero, after he has taken it in, protests that he has never in his life heard anything so immoral; but he must have led a very sheltered existence, for the thesis is merely that love is best when played as a game without too much emotional involvement. Entirely too much fuss, says Mr. Coward, has been made about sex, and he then proceeds to make quite a little more. Here, in short, is much ado about not making much ado.

Most bad comedies as well as quite a few of the good ones—"Candida," for example—have a scene in which some timid person gets drunk, grows bold, and thereby settles a lot of difficulties. Since, in the bad comedies at least, this scene usually gets most of the laughs, Anita Loos, who is responsible for the text of "Happy Birthday," seems to have decided that it would be a good idea to dispense with all the others and stretch this one out for two hours and a half. The stretching involves a lot of trick scenery to represent what the tipsy heroine thinks she sees and also a comic-strip version of life in a honky-tonk; but it would all add up to less than nothing if it were not for Helen Hayes, who appears to be having the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time of her life. As a librarian—and you know what comedy librarians are like—who quickly graduates from Pink Ladies to Scotch, she runs a gamut from A to Ampersand, including such unexpected stunts as a stint at the microphone and a slinky dance with a professional panther. Considered merely as a stunt, the performance is really superb. In fact, it is hard to imagine any other American performer who could be equally convincing in both her mousy and her raucous phases, or who could cavort and mug with such confident, tireless energy. That she furnishes at moments excellent fun I cannot be churlish enough to deny, but I think also that it is no more than due courtesy to assume that, if Miss Hayes chooses to appear in such a dramaturgical nonesuch or gimmick as "Happy Birthday," it is only because no suitable new play could be found.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IT HAS taken me a long time to realize that in John Martin we have a critic with an unerring sense for the first-rate and the great in art—and an invariable contempt for it. Mr. Martin is contemptuous of Balanchine's choreography; he is contemputous of Berman's scenery and costumes; and since his words influence the ideas and actions of other people, Ballet Theater shows courage for which it deserves praise in putting on Balanchine's "Apollo" and "Waltz Academy" and in using Berman's designs for its new production of "Giselle."

Not since Berman's decor and costumes for "Danses Concertantes" has there been anything so pictorially sumptuous and distinguished, and so dramatically active in its relation to everything that happens on the stage, as what he has created for the supernatural second act of "Giselle": the grandly somber fore-curtain; the powerful decor of the "tomb of Giselle amid lonely spectral cypresses," seen at first through gauze transparencies; the costumes of the Willis, with a film of black over the white, and green showing now and then underneath. In this act there are also effective revisions of the Dolin choreography: for example, the way the Willis close in on Hilarion (the black in their costumes heightens its effect). And there is the dancing: the exquisite phrases of Alonso, the quiet precision and elegance of Youskevitch, the bold brilliance of Kaye, the fine work of the corps. All these combine to make the act the excitingly beautiful and dramatically powerful piece of "ballet theater" that I called it recently (Mr. Hurok watched it one evening from a seat in the back row, and did not applaud at the end).

The realistic first act does not impress me as something completely achieved, in the way the second does. In Berman's work there are details of which I would prefer to think that I don't understand rather than that he miscalculated: I don't understand what he is driving at with the uncompleted structure that is the cottage of Giselle, or why—when the backdrop and the costumes of the Duke and his entourage are so extravagantly fantastic—the peasant costumes are so conventionally bright and clean. In this act the revisions are concerned mostly with creating realistic dramatic sense; and not only do they still leave the nonsense of Wilfred coming on at the beginning with Albrecht and coming on again later with the Duke, but they clutter up the proceedings with a lot of over-explicit pantomime — like Giselle's demonstration of having heard Albrecht's knock on the door and having found nobody when she came out, or the various demonstrations of the fact that she has a weak heart. (There is the same attempt to make sense of "Swan Lake," with similar results: on the one hand a lot of over-explicit pantomime; on the other hand the continuing nonsense of the Prince's walking off arm in arm with the Swan Queen and returning in vain search of her.)

Meanwhile, Markova is giving her performance of Giselle with the De Basil Ballet Russe. One continues to get from it—as from all her dancing nowadays—the impression of lessened intensity; nevertheless her "instinct for the melody of movement as it deploys and subsides in the silence of time" still produces "the most refined of rhythmic delights" and a performance that remains unique, and for which one endures its undistinguished surroundings and the disturbingly offensive performance of Dolin.

Additional De Basil productions that I have seen include another Lichine horror, "The Prodigal Son," with the choreography that De Basil saw fit to have Lichine create in 1941 to replace the wonderful Balanchine choreography of the original Diaghilev production that I saw in 1929. And two of the works taken over from Ballet International: "Sebastian," worth seeing for the extraordinary costumes by Milena, for some striking details in the choreography by Edward Caton, including the new *pas de deux* of Sebastian and the lifeless courtesan, for the performance of Moncion—superb in its intensity and precision, and for the fine performance of Hightower, Skibine, Patterson, and Marjorie Tallchief; and the amusing "Mute Wife," with Antonia Cobos, Skibine, and Moncion.

However, not all the season's horrors were presented by the two Ballets Russes. To the Monte Carlo company's "The Bells" and the De Basil company's "Cain and Abel" and "The Prodigal Son" Ballet Theater added Jerome Robbins's "Facsimile."

Letters to the Editors

Announce IRRC Luncheon

Dear Sirs: Friends of labor are urged to attend a luncheon honoring Luigi Antonini, president of the Italian American Labor Council; Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dress Joint Board, I. L. G. W. U.; and Irving Brown, European representative of the A. F. of L., recently returned from Europe with the unpublished story of trade-unionism in Europe today. Off-the-record reports on labor's hour in Europe will be given at this luncheon, which is sponsored by the International Rescue and Relief Committee and will be held on November 23, at 12:30 p.m., in the Tudor Room of the Henry Hudson Hotel—subscription $5. For reservation call LE 2-7916 or write to the I. R. R. C., 103 Park Avenue. SHEBA STRUNSKY
Executive Secretary, I. R. R. C.

New York, November 7

Never So United

Dear Sirs: Reading, here in London, Aylmer Vallance's article British Labor at the Crossroads in your October 12 issue, I felt it must be about some other country, or it must be a handout from Communist Party headquarters.

Mr. Vallance reports to your readers that the "government's stock, particularly among its own supporters, has fallen," and that the electorate are "disappointed." Here are two facts which no amount of wishful thinking can remove: (1) the membership of the Labor Party has doubled in the past year; (2) the government has not yet lost a single by-election, which is a record unequaled in living memory. If people

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were really so dismally "disappointed," then by-elections, of which there have been many, would reveal that disappointment immediately.

No one, not even Mr. Vallance, could exaggerate the pressing need for homes, homes, and more homes. Nevertheless, the number of houses built so far is little short of miraculous. By the end of September, 89,000 new houses had been completed. One gets some idea of the immensity of that achievement by comparing it with the period at the end of the 1914-18 war, when only 2,000 houses were built in the first sixteen months. In addition to the new houses, bomb-damaged houses have been repaired and premises converted into apartments. Altogether, by the end of September homes had been provided for 242,302 families. Considering the acute shortage of materials and skilled labor, that is a magnificent achievement.

The Labor government is not infallible. . . . But by and large the government, including Ernest Bevin, has the enthusiastic support of the mass of the movement. After eighteen years as an active member of the Labor Party it is my impression that never was the party so united and never was it in less danger of "splitting into factional left and right" than it is at the moment.

PATRICIA STRAUSS

London, November 1

"Reckless Accusations"

Dear Sirs: I am at a loss to account for the editorial entitled Their Own Petards (*The Nation* of October 5), in which reckless accusations of dishonesty and stupidity are made against the American Medical Association and the National Physicians' Committee. Many such articles are attributable to the same cynical and unscrupulous disregard for truth that Hitler advocated in his technique of "the colossal lie." Many can be ascribed to a lack of the background necessary to understand the situation. Let us hope that in this case we are dealing with nothing more sinister than the uncritical acceptance by "the harried liberal" of material provided by unscrupulous or stupid individuals. . . .

One cannot determine the effect of a law by quoting a single sentence; one must, at the very least, take account of the entire law, and usually of its relationship to the body of law as well.

You pretend to find inconsistency between the N. P. C.'s statement that "the Surgeon General [under the provisions of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill] would be authorized to determine what hospitals or clinics may provide service for patients and under what conditions" and the A. M. A.'s statement that "the Surgeon General shall exercise no supervision or control over a *participating* hospital [italics mine] unless it is owned or leased and operated by the United States." It should be apparent that there is no inconsistency between the two statements. Moreover, if you will read the definition of a "participating hospital" in the bill (S 1606, Sec. 214, k, p. 69, lines 14ff.) and the provisions for certification and control of "participating hospitals" (Sec. 206, a and b), you will see that there can be no question as to the truth of the N. P. C. statement. If then you read Section 206 (c), from which the A. M. A. statement was quoted verbatim, you will see that any charge of inconsistency must be directed against the bill itself. You will see, moreover, that the only way that lines 22-25 (page 52) can be made consistent with the rest of the bill is to adopt such a limited and arbitrary meaning of the word "operation" as will divorce it from all matters bearing on the service supplied by the hospital. . . .

I offer no brief for all the actions and statements of the A. M. A. or the N. P. C., but I have yet to find either organization stooping to the dishonesty practiced by the Frothinghams in their attempts to mislead the uninformed. . . .

FREDERICK B. EXNER, M.D.

Seattle, October 8

[*Since Dr. Exner's criticism of* The Nation's *editorial also contained criticism of Dr. Channing Frothingham, chairman of the Committee for the Nation's Health and a proponent of national health insurance, Dr. Frothingham was asked to comment.*]

Not a Distortion

Dear Sirs: Your editorial cited two statements made by the National Physicians' Committee which were contradicted by the *Journal of the American Medical Association.* The National Physicians' Committee statement, "The doctor would have little if any interest in the patient who was compelled to visit him . . . sick people must depend on a doctor that has been assigned by a political bureaucrat," was refuted in your editorial by correctly quoting the *Journal.*

Since in his letter Dr. Exner does not take issue with this part of your editorial, it would seem that he agrees that the N. P. C. has been issuing false and misleading statements dealing with the doctor-patient relationship.

He does in his letter endeavor to defend the statement of the National Physicians' Committee to the effect that "the Surgeon General would be authorized to determine what hospitals or clinics may provide service for patients and under what conditions." Your editorial showed this statement to be inaccurate by quoting from the analysis of the bill prepared by the American Medical Association. In trying to support the N. P. C., Dr. Exner refers to several sections of the bill. He criticizes the statement of the Committee for the Nation's Health because it only quoted one sentence from the analysis of the bill prepared by the Bureau of Legal Medicine and Legislation of the American Medical Association.

Since Dr. Exner is not satisfied with one sentence, permit me to quote the whole section from which the one sentence was taken as it appeared in the *Journal* (December 1, 1945, p. 977):

> The Surgeon General is directed to publish a list of institutions which he finds to be participating hospitals in accordance with general standards prescribed by him after consultation with the Advisory Council. Any institution which is not included in the list, or any institution having been removed from the list, may petition the Surgeon General for a hearing. The bill provides that the Surgeon General shall exercise no supervision or control over the participating hospital unless it is owned or leased and operated by the United States. No requirement for participation by a hospital may prescribe its administration, personnel, or operation."

Your editorial did not distort the truth. . . . As the material upon which it was based was provided by the National Physicians' Committee and the Bureau of Legal Medicine and Legislation of the American Medical Association, I shall have to leave it to Dr. Exner to decide whether this material was provided by unscrupulous or stupid individuals.

CHANNING FROTHINGHAM, M.D.

New York, October 24

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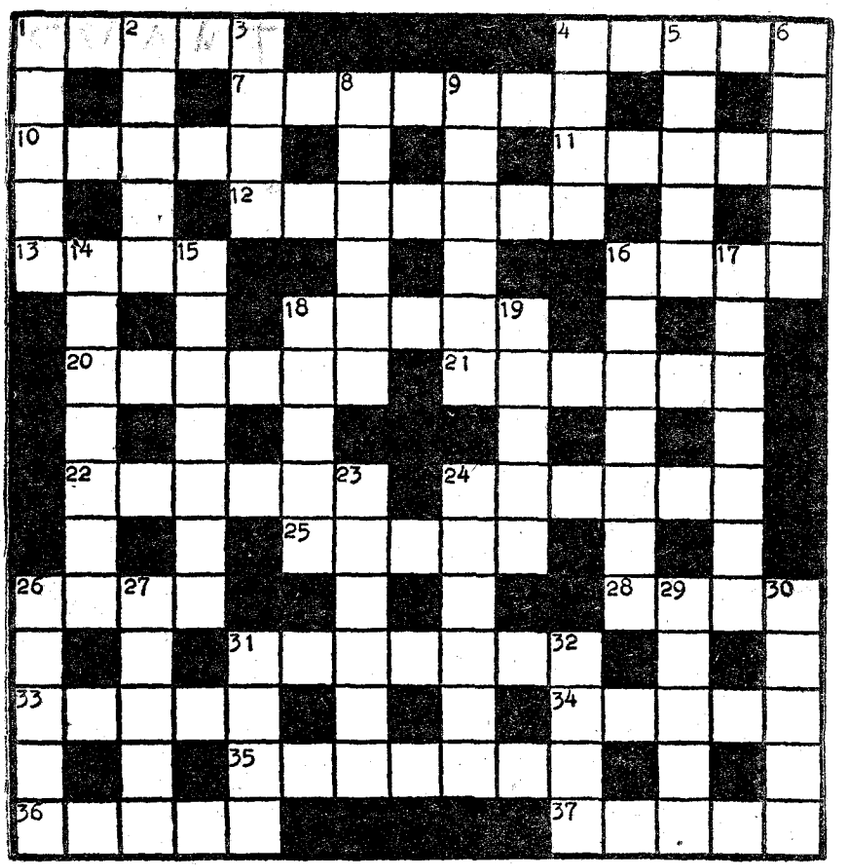
Crossword Puzzle No. 187

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Though it has its ups and downs it constitutes a record
4 Tea in the smallest Channel Island is a bit strong
7 We walk on it, but it makes a snake lame
10 Birds that might turn to sneer
11 Extremely
12 In conference?
13 Author's original words
16 Unattached
18 The plum pudding is nearly half fat
20 Not what lambs do in the spring, but what gulls do before the fall
21 Made fast
22 A sort of seizure?
24 Summer house where you invite an American to admire the view
25 Did this suit make Winston Churchill irresistibly charming?
26 Tots
28 Glut
31 Mackintosh's, perhaps
33 She gets in return the Order of the British Empire
34 A bit of a mongrel
35 Another bulletin
36 New cars are, but not necessarily by the police (3 and 2)
37 Peasant wearing a mortar-board

DOWN

1 He is entertained
2 An English queen's vote is appropriate
3 Makes mincemeat of the Shah
4 You get it in the neck
5 Tra la (anag.)
6 Stealer of hearts
8 Stir up mud
9 An Alp mob shows self-possession
14 Retreating Germans claimed they successfully did the opposite
15 British soldiers
16 People of cultivation
17 Tom's den is farthest
18 Plumps into water
19 Father gets a horse up
23 Tower that would tower over the Tower of Babel
24 Plural of "genus"
26 Biblical army captain
27 "I murdered him last Tuesday, He did annoy me so; I took him to the bathroom, And -----ed him, don't you know"
29 O laud! (anag.)
30 Far-sighted bird
31 It's a bit smaller than a bittern
32 Waistband

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 186

ACROSS:—1 ATMOSPHERE; 6 SMUT; 10 TERRAIN; 11 GROWN-UP; 12 THINNEST; 13 SACKS; 15 UNLIT; 17 INCLEMENT; 19 MONOLOGUE; 21 ROUSE; 23 NEGUS; 24 TOPARCHS; 27 TOENAIL; 28 EXTINCT; 29 PITY; 30 PERSISTENT.

DOWN:—1 ATTA; 2 MARSHAL; 3 SPAWN; 4 HANKERING; 5 RIGHT; 7 MANACLE; 8 TYPESETTER; 9 FORSWEAR; 14 HUMMING TOP; 16 TALESMAN; 18 CHEAPNESS; 20 NEGLECT; 22 UNHINGE; 24 TULLE; 25 RITES; 26 STET.

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